

# THE Nonconformist.

THE DISSIDENCE OF DISSENT AND THE PROTESTANTISM OF THE PROTESTANT RELIGION.

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## Ecclesiastical Affairs.

## THE SCOTCH ESTABLISHMENT.

It is proverbially difficult to entrap a Scotchman into an unconditional affirmation of any proposition whatever. The utmost extent to which he will usually go is limited to an admission that the contrary cannot exactly be maintained. Thus, if on a cloudless summer day you remark to a shepherd, as you pass him on the moors, that it is splendid weather, he will probably reply, "It's no that bad," and eye you with an air of bristling independence as though he were defying you to make any advantage out of that. This national characteristic is very evident in the cautious tactics adopted in approaching the inevitable question of the Established Kirk. One of the most ominous symptoms of the advance taking place in public opinion across the border, is a notice just given by the Rev. Sir Henry Moncrieff of an "overture" to be made to the Free Church Presbytery of Edinburgh. This "overture," or in plain English, resolution, is as long as many an Act of Parliament, and as cautious as the first advance of a cunning lawyer in opening negotiations on a delicate business, in which he has to feel his way towards the unknown purposes of half-a-dozen parties concerned. It recites in a labyrinthine preamble the claim of right made by the Kirk in 1842, and rejected by the Government in 1843. It refers to the great secession as a step taken "in protest against the Constitution then of new assigned by the State to the Establishment contrary to the said claim of right, as an injurious violation of fundamental laws, treaties, and securities." It speaks of the continued maintenance of the present Establishment as "a usurpation upon the just rights of the Free Kirk and of the Scottish people, as well as a fruitful cause of division and contention. It deprecates the claim of that Establishment to be regarded as the true Church of Scotland. Acknowledging that the actual re-establishment of the Free Kirk "may not now be desirable," it asserts that this should be no bar against the recognition of her true position, or of her just claim "to be relieved and have the country relieved of a continued wrong and usurpation." It touches on the wonderful success of the Free Church movement, and denies the expediency of any proposal for "actual restoration to the established position which the Church enjoyed before 1843, or for participation with others in the benefits

of that position." It then introduces a saving clause, declaring the duty of the Legislature to recognise "the headship of the Lord Jesus Christ both over the nation and over the Church," but goes on to say that this recognition ought now to take the form of maintaining and respecting the Scriptural liberties of the various branches of the Church of Christ, and in particular of "abating the existing wrongs and evils complained of, by terminating the existing connection of Church and State in Scotland." At the conclusion of this long preamble, "it is humbly overtured to the Venerable the General Assembly of the Free Church of Scotland by the Free Presbytery of Edinburgh, that they take special steps for asserting the position of the Free Church of Scotland, and for making manifest the duty lying upon the Legislature to give effect to the facts and views now stated, and to the just claim now made."

The critical importance of such a notice, on the part of a man exercising so weighty an influence as Sir Henry Moncrieff, can hardly be overestimated. There is no doubt that a great part of his influence is owing to the calm and judicial view he has always taken of the ecclesiastical situation, an attitude of mind that commends itself to the Scotch character. This influence is understood to have exercised considerable restraint upon the more impulsive elements that are not wholly wanting in the Free Church. And though we cannot profess to foresee the immediate results of the discussion thus to be raised in the Edinburgh Presbytery, such a step on the part of a recognised apostle of caution indicates very clearly the initiation of a new and general movement in advance. The extreme moderation, and even vagueness, of the resolution will probably only recommend it to the body before which it is to be brought. The state of things in the Free Church we take to be this. There has not been yet any very general, or at least outspoken, surrender of the principle of Establishment. Under ideal circumstances the majority of Free Church ministers would probably still maintain that it would be the duty of the Legislature to recognise "the headship of Christ both over the nation and over the Church," by endowing the latter with liberal support, and upholding her by secular authority in such use of these endowments and in such spiritual discipline as might commend themselves to her free and independent councils. But there is, we think, also a more than general—an almost universal—recognition that such a relation between Church and State is a dream of the past, or possibly of the remote future, and that the present arrangement, by which a fragmentary sect is pampered and petted with privileges formerly denied to a church substantially embodying the whole nation, has become entirely intolerable. To this state of opinion the overture of Sir Henry Moncrieff is pre-eminently adapted. It does not deny the abstract principle of Establishment. On the contrary, it gives to it an implied recognition. On the other hand, it announces in terms scarcely to be misunderstood, though vague enough to comprehend many phases of hesitation, a decided wish to have the present anomalous relations of Church and State brought to an end somehow. At any rate, the document clearly indicates that no important section of the Free Church is looking to comprehension as a remedy for existing evils. It is commonly rumoured that

the friends of Establishments, with an eye to England rather than to Scotland, are disposed to lay before Parliament some new measure supplementary to the Patronage Act, and going almost all lengths in declaration of the spiritual independence of the Kirk. The recent measure has not accomplished what they supposed it would, and they are prepared to sacrifice State supremacy in Scotland to an extent which they know they dare not attempt in England, if by any means they may save what they regard as an important outwork of the greater institution south of the Tweed. Is Sir Henry Moncrieff's overture an answer to such rumours? It looks to us remarkably like it. It sounds like a declaration that the interests of the Free Church have become too substantial and complicated to be provided for by any conceivable offers which a remodelled Establishment could make.

Nor is Sir Henry Moncrieff alone in the indication of such views. Principal Rainy, speaking at Peterhead on the 29th of December, gave utterance to words, very difficult of interpretation, it must be confessed, but apparently inveighing against the assumption that if only the Established Kirk can be satisfied, the ecclesiastical institutions of Scotland are settled. "He did not desire to see his own Church hurried into any plan and course of action for which it was not prepared, or on which it might be injuriously divided. But at all events they had a right to reclaim, out of the hands that held it, the public positive inheritance of the Church of Scotland." The letter of Lord Minto to Mr. Adam, M.P., who had rebuked the Liberals of Fifeshire for their impatience with Sir Robert Anstruther's indirect support of the Establishment, shows clearly that, whether the Scotch Liberals are prepared or not for an immediate proposal of disestablishment, they are determined to have men ready to support it when it comes. The constituents of Mr. Holmes, at Paisley, exhibit a similar temper, and are entirely dissatisfied with his profession of preparation to run with the multitude when the size of the crowd is sufficiently large. The *North British Daily Mail* speaks out plainly, and declares that the time is already come for "a vigorous sustained and united effort on the part of Dissenters." These indications show clearly enough that if the man were at hand the hour would not be far distant. The ecclesiastical condition of Scotland is so different from that of England, that the movement there must necessarily proceed on somewhat different lines; but the state of opinion is as clear as the Scotch language can well make it.

## A RITUALISTIC LIBERATION SOCIETY.

It has been for some time evident that the ecclesiastical party represented by Mr. Tooth must, in common consistency, take one of two courses; it must either renounce the Establishment, or it must insist on the repeal of legislation openly proclaimed by it to be sacrilegious. We cannot doubt, with the opening of its martyr-roll before us, that it has courage enough for the former course. But the extreme sensitiveness as to schism, which is one note of the school, interposes some awkward difficulties in the way. It is part of the religion of Ritualists not to be content with disestablishing themselves, unless they can disestablish all



other Churchmen at the same time. Such a scheme appears to us, of course, extremely feasible. But we could not for a moment expect that high-flying Sacardotalists should take the straightforward and vulgar method of joining openly in a movement favoured by political Radicals. It is at once the more respectable, and ecclesiastically the more correct course, to agitate for such a reform in the relations of Church and State as should secure all power for the former, and retain all burdens and obligations for the latter. The end is doubtless the same, and we are bound to give our Ritualistic fellow-countrymen credit for sufficient common-sense—in things secular—to recognise this fact. But we can well understand the scruples which impel them to aim at disestablishment by the roundabout route of an agitation for ecclesiastical reform, in their sense of the word, rather than by our own more direct method. We shall cherish no uncharitable feelings of envy should they prove, as is not unlikely, that the straightest way to a point is not always the shortest.

We are led to make these remarks by a full-page advertisement in the *Church Times*, publishing a prospectus of "The Laymen's Association for the Restoration of Church Rights, with which is incorporated the Deprived Clergy Sustentation Fund." From this advertisement we gather that the association is already organised, and that its governing council of fifty are confident of support. Indeed we do not suppose they are over sanguine. For Mr. Tooth's masterly retreat to Horsemonger-lane Gaol has been quite as successful in its way as Wellington's retirement on the lines of Torres Vedras. There is no more that the enemy can do to him, however much they may wish it. And meantime he, fortified doubly by iron bars and the triple brass of conscious rectitude, watches serenely the passion of enthusiasm roused in the outer world by the spectacle of his saintly fortitude. Unhappy Lord Penzance! Debarred by the fashion of the time, and also, no doubt, by natural disposition, from the only effective means of persecution, he has been forced by the necessities of his position to endow the English Church Union with a moral capital, worth far more than 100,000*l.* a year in money; a capital, in fact, so far beyond the powers of that society to utilise effectively, that in order to prevent its being wasted a branch business has been started in a much bolder style of enterprise, and of a far more pushing temper.

The difference between the new Association and the older Union is significantly apparent in the prospectus to which we have referred. The Union is mainly, if not in numbers, at least in influence and character, a clerical organisation. And this circumstance has given much comfort to cynical Erastians and effete Evangelicals. It has suited them to deny that the movement has any lay support. The fanaticism of a few secentric clergymen could not deprive them of the consolation felt by Hezekiah to be so soothing in the contemplation of the miseries of posterity,—"for there shall be peace and truth in my days." For ourselves we have long been prepared to find that the State machinery for propagating sacerdotalism, and the State authority given to a distinctly sacerdotal ritual have made a deeper impression on the people than the latitudinarian and Evangelical allies have been disposed to allow. Religion by law is impossible. Superstition by law is only too easy. It has not been in vain that the whole power of the State has been exerted for the last two hundred years to counteract the logical issues of the Reformation. And we are not in the least surprised to learn that a strong body of lay enthusiasts can be found to back up the clerical leaders of Ritualism. It is one main purpose of the association to demonstrate this fact, and with this view none but laymen are admitted to full membership. But another difference between the new Association and the Union is even more significant. The English Church Union stands for the most part almost passively in an attitude of defence. The Laymen's Association is distinctly and avowedly aggressive. The Public Worship

Regulation Act was intended "to put down Ritualism"; and the Union is content with showing that Ritualism cannot be put down. But the new Association undertakes to turn the tables, and "put down" the Public Worship Regulation Act. It contends for "the free exercise of the right of self-government inherent in the Church." We do not observe, however, that any attempt is made to define "the Church" for which this right is claimed. All Acts preventing the free exercise of such rights are to be repealed. The election of bishops is to become a reality. Convocation is to become a real power in the State. And, generally, "the Church,"—whatever this document may mean by it—is "to enjoy the same liberty and self-government willingly conceded to all Nonconformist bodies."

Do they, the associated laymen, understand to what such proposals point? We have a shrewd suspicion that they do. And, indeed, to doubt it would be to call in question their sanity. "This Association," we are told, "without wishing to raise the question of Disestablishment, simply desires to assert for the Church her unquestionable right of self-government, through her synods, subject to Parliamentary control in temporal matters only." That is, this Association "simply desires" disestablishment without disendowment. It wants the Church to be put into the position of Nonconformist bodies without parting with her revenues. For all these bodies are "subject to Parliamentary control in temporal matters only." The proposal is interesting, indeed quite charming in its engaging frankness. But we will do the Association the justice of believing that it has not the least expectation of getting its ostensible propositions accepted. No; the associated laymen know as well as we do that freedom has its price. We credit them with the courage of their opinions, and we regard their movement as an instance of the traditional ecclesiastical method of shooting round a corner.

#### MESSRS. ROGERS' AND DALE'S SPEECHES AT BOLTON.

The following are a few detached extracts from the speeches delivered by Mr. J. G. Rogers, B.A., and Mr. R. W. Dale, M.A., at the great meeting held at Bolton last week:—

##### MR. TOOTH AND THE BISHOP OF MANCHESTER.

There was a clergyman lying in prison at the present moment, and he thought it was the gravest fact that had occurred in the history of England for nearly a century—(Hear, hear)—that a clergyman should be lying in prison in consequence of his adherence to certain ideas relative to the government of the Establishment. He would say something about him presently. They understood what Mr. Tooth's view of Establishment was. He said that he as a clergyman of the Establishment was to be ruled only by spiritual men and spiritual courts, and he repudiated the authority of all secular courts whatever. When they turned to the last charge of the able and distinguished prelate who presided in this diocese, they read, "I have small fears of attacks from without." He remembered that the Bishop of Manchester in that charge rejoiced that Lancashire was not to see the faces of some of them that session. The bishop said, "I have small fears of attacks from without." My apprehensions arise from disputes and dissensions within. A small but vehement band of Churchmen dreaming dreams of ecclesiastical independence that never have been realised in any age of the Church, and would probably be mischievous rather than beneficial if they were, lose no opportunity of covering the very idea of a union between the Church and the State with every vituperative epithet which they can devise. A Church such as these men conceive—an *imperium in imperio*—never has existed in England. I doubt if it has existed anywhere, and the attempts to embody such a conception which have been made in England do not admit the repetition of the experiment. It was the idea of Becket, it was perhaps the idea of Laud, entertained probably with all sincerity, but doomed from its birth to failure and disappointment." But he would tell them that it was an attempt to create a Church such as that for which Mr. Tooth was suffering at the present moment, brought archbishop and monarch to the block in this country. What he wanted them to look at was this, that these two remarkable men, both good men, both conscientious men, both defenders of the Establishment, both members of the prelacy of the Establishment, yet differed, and were as wide asunder as the poles. There was not more difference between the gentlemen on that platform and the Bishop of Manchester,

or between them and Mr. Tooth, than between Mr. Tooth and the Bishop of Manchester.—*Mr. Rogers.*

#### THE ESTABLISHMENT AS SWEETENING RELIGIOUS LIFE.

The *Spectator*, a very Liberal newspaper indeed, had devoted a few lines to a very able speech by Mr. Chamberlain at Bristol last week. (Cheers.) It could not answer Mr. Chamberlain, but it started three questions which he supposed it thought would be posers. He wanted to look at these questions. (Laughter.) The *Spectator* said that Mr. Chamberlain's mode of putting the question would be an argument against setting up now such an intolerant and illogical compromise, so curious an anomaly as the Established Church of England. (Hear, hear.) But it was not an argument with Englishmen for pulling it down. When an historic Church showed plenty of wholesome life the only questions by which men must justify themselves in not letting it alone were, first, "Does it do much good which we might lose if we destroyed it? Second, does it do much harm, which would be removed if it were abolished? Third, does it generally sweeten on the whole the religious life of the nation?" (Laughter.) The *Spectator* added that if the first and last questions were answered in the affirmative and the second in the negative, Mr. Chamberlain would not do very much by merely proving that in the present day no such historic institution could be built afresh. Now he (Mr. Rogers) was prepared to answer these questions in exactly the opposite way to that suggested by the *Spectator*. (Laughter.) He was prepared to answer the first and third questions in the negative, and the second in the affirmative. (Cheers.) No one had said stronger things in relation to the Ottoman rule than the *Spectator*, but he thought he could find gentlemen who would start on the opposite exactly the same questions in relation to the continuance of the Ottoman rule in Europe which the *Spectator* had started in relation to the Established Church. (Hear, hear.) The *Spectator* in that case would give the answer which he would give to the *Spectator* that night—namely, that if the solemn rights of men and the obligations of justice demanded, then justice should be done, and the consequences would come all right. (Cheers.) Of course, when the *Spectator* talked about the Established Church, it simply meant the Establishment. It did not mean the Church as including the people. If he were to take it as meaning the learned, reverend, able, and devoted bench of bishops, or as including the clergy, with hundreds and thousands of men amongst them as self-sacrificing and laborious as any in the kingdom, or as including the body of adherents of the clergy, many of whom were patterns of goodness, virtue, liberality, and zeal; if he were to take it as including these his answer would be, Let the Church stand. But it was the Establishment, and simply the Establishment, of which they were speaking—the privileges which the State gave. He had to ask them these questions: Does the Church gain anything by having its bishops appointed by Lord Beaconsfield? (Laughter.) Does the Church gain anything by having its clergy inducted into their livings by a system of patronage such as the Bishop of Peterborough had described in such burning and indignant terms? Does the Church gain anything by having all its rubrics, its articles, its formularies under the control of Parliament, so that not a single iota can be altered except by the vote of the estates of the realm? Does it profit from the other conditions of the Establishment? Does it secure more honour for its ministers by sending them into every parish authorised to speak not in their own name, or in the name of God only, but in the name of the State of England? Does it gain anything by stirring up unpleasantness and social antagonisms and ecclesiastical strifes which are the result of the attempt not to teach Episcopacy, but to perpetuate a miserable and obsolete system of sectarian ascendancy? Does this Establishment really sweeten on the whole the tone of religious life throughout the nation? He took up the *Times* last Saturday, and found an elaborate article on the waste of precious time of ten of the most able men in the kingdom, who were summoned for various judicial duties at a time when there is a press of legal business, and suitors are complaining that their causes were delayed, to sit on the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council to decide the case between Mr. Riddale and his aggrieved parishioners. The *Times* ridiculed the idea, but ridicule was not the fitting weapon to employ on such a question. The questions are extremely serious. The question which was being agitated before the Privy Council at this time was: Shall the national religion of England receive the complexion of Romanism, or shall it be distinctly Protestant? The reason why so many judges were employed in the matter was because the churches belonged to the Establishment, and according to the decision the faith of the nation, so far as the judges could settle it, would be decided. He had read of the scenes which had taken place at Hatcham; two great congregations were gathered, one outside and one inside. Those inside were engaged in what they considered devoted religious service; those outside were engaged in singing and howling for the purpose of interrupting them. Well, those two congregations professed to belong to the same Establishment and to the same Church. He thought it would be very difficult to find a number of Churchmen who would go and howl in this way round a Dissenting chapel. All this was the practical effect of the Church as a State-Church in which both



parties had the same right. Were the scenes at Hatcham sweetening the religious tone of the nation. ("Hear," and laughter.) There were two great and important parties—the Church Association and the English Church Union—composed of earnest, conscientious Englishmen, each party believing in the rightness of its own principles, and yet such was the beautiful sweetness of their religious tone that each one accused the other of sending rowdies, hired with money and primed with beer, for the purpose of interrupting the ecclesiastical proceedings in the church. It seemed to him that in the face of those facts it was rather extraordinary to talk about the Establishment sweetening the tone of religion.—*Mr. Rogers.*

#### THE EVANGELICAL PARTY.

If there was anything that could prove more than another all the paralysing and emasculating power of the Establishment, and the fact that it was not to the Establishment but to the living faith of the Church that the nation was indebted for what she had got from the Church of England, it was the history of that Evangelical party itself. What a miserable shadow was it to-day of what it was in its bright, glorious, and palmy days! It was not simply the decay of its numbers, but the decay of its spirit. There was a time that the Evangelicals would speak earnestly, fervently, boldly, when the smiles of the Establishment had not fallen upon them, when they were not allowed to have their own way, and had not made their position quite certain within the State Church. But from the days that Lord Palmerston and Lord Shaftesbury chose to patronise them, when they got bishops emasculated by being put upon the bench, from these days how had the mighty fallen, and how was their strength departed! He could recall the time when a man whose name was never mentioned by Churchmen or Dissenters in Lancashire without respect—he meant the name of Canon Stowell—(Hear, hear)—used to thunder forth on behalf of the Protestantism of the Anglican Church. Let them compare Canon Stowell's words with the "bated breath and whispering humbleness" in which the Evangelical leaders of to-day were endeavouring to find out a paltry compromise with what they still denounced as the doctrines of Rome—(Hear, hear)—rather than take the bold and manly step by which Protestantism might be saved though the Establishment would be sacrificed. The length of life had seen all these religious movements in the Church. It was said that seventy years would see them run their course. During the first ten, twenty, thirty, or forty years they made good their position. Then the spell of the Establishment fell upon them. They were shorn of their locks, and they became even as other men, and dwindled out their remaining days in weakness, melancholy memorials of the strength and glory of the past. (Hear, hear.)—*Mr. Rogers.*

#### DISESTABLISHMENT INEVITABLE.

In the Church of England itself there were a large number of persons who had come to the conclusion that disestablishment was inevitable, and that perhaps the sooner disestablishment came the better. He was not quite such an omnivorous reader of Church of England newspapers as his friend Mr. Rogers, but he did browse a little in these pleasant pastures, and last week he had come across a letter in the *Guardian*, which was reckoned as a High-Church authority in the Church of England, and he thought that letter was worth reading to that great assembly. It was as follows:—"Sir, I was lately present at an important gathering of some 300 persons, of the upper and middle class of society. The occasion was the successful issue of an extensive Church work, on which from 30,000l. to 35,000l. had been expended. The bishop of the diocese, who presided, met with unusual marks of affectionate respect. After his departure, through a pressing engagement, several excellent addresses were delivered by prominent Churchmen. One of these remarked, almost incidentally, on possible disestablishment at no distant date in the Church of England. The result was most remarkable. The whole of the company instantly rose to their feet, and cheered again and again for some minutes with an enthusiasm which astonished and bewildered me." That letter was signed "Significant," and he (Mr. Dale) thought the signature was well chosen. What was the strength of the party in the Church of England that was eager for disestablishment it was impossible for an outcast like himself to estimate. The English Church Union declared that it had the adhesion of 2000 of the clergy, and at its recent meeting in the Freemasons' Tavern the enthusiasm for disestablishment was quite as great as that which had been manifested within those walls that night. And if it was said, "Well, this is all the result of transient passion; High-Churchmen and Ritualists are provoked beyond endurance by the judgment of Lord Penzance in the case of Mr. Tooth," the rejoinder was obvious. The whole theory of the Church which was held by the Ritualistic party was absolutely inconsistent with the continuance of ecclesiastical Establishments in this country. (Hear, hear.) They must either abandon their theory, or they must destroy the Establishment. Then let them look outside the Nonconformist bodies and outside the Church of England—at the great mass of the working people of this country who were unhappily not connected with any Church at all—who would venture to say on which side their vote would go when the nation had ultimately and definitely to pronounce on this controversy?"—*Mr. Dale.*

#### THE PLEA FOR DELAY EXAMINED.

That night he wished to make an appeal to a class of politicians which he believed were very numerous. He did not know whether they were to be found in Bolton and in that part of Lancashire, but he found them in many parts of the country, and they seemed to him to occupy a position which was altogether indefensible. Those gentlemen were accustomed to say, "Disestablishment is inevitable, the ecclesiastical establishments of the country are no doubt obsolete. All the political tendencies of this country and of Europe are hostile to them. Within thirty years, perhaps twenty years, perhaps within ten years, disestablishment must follow, but the time is not ripe yet." He wanted those gentlemen to consider a little the meaning of the political position which they themselves assumed. It appeared to him that it was one of the most mischievous characteristics of any politics that so large a number of those who affected to lead the political life of the nation should shrink from attempting the great reforms which were admitted to be expedient, and just, and necessary, and inevitable, until some great catastrophe came which rendered further delay impossible. It did not seem to him that this policy was worthy of statesmen, or that it was friendly to the stability of the institutions of the land. (Hear, hear.) And in the name of the adherents of that great ecclesiastical institution, the claims and position of which they were met that night to discuss, he entered a very serious protest against the adoption of this policy of delay. He could sympathise with those whose imaginations were filled with the historic glories of the Church of England. He could understand with what sadness of heart they looked upon the possibility of the dissolution of the ancient relations between their Church and the State, and he thought the politicians to whom he had alluded ought not to wait to settle this great controversy in a time of national diversity, confusion, and dismay. (Cheers.) It ought to be settled with calm deliberation, with dignity, under conditions of the national life that should render it possible to us to be just to the institution which should cease to exist, and that should enable us to pay due regard to the sentiments of those who could not look upon its overthrow without the keenest distress. (Cheers.) Let them remember that the settlement of this controversy involved the determination of many intricate and most complicate questions. It involved the recognition of apparently conflicting rights, and it involved the just disposal of vast masses of property; and if the question was to be settled wisely and well, in a way that should satisfy the nation and permanently satisfy the adherents of the English Church, they ought not to wait for a time of tumult and storm, when it would be impossible to postpone this question any longer. They ought to give their best thoughts and their most strenuous efforts to it in times of national tranquillity and peace. (Cheers.) There were many reasons of another kind against this policy of delay. If, as the gentleman to whom he had been alluding, believed, it was certain that in ten, fifteen, or twenty years the Establishment must come to an end, then he asked why they were willing to consent to the waste of strength in carrying on this controversy which was absolutely inevitable till the controversy was over. Bishops gave considerable space in their charges to this question. Deans could never leave it alone. A large number of the clergy were perpetually writing and speaking about it. Laymen came forward courageously and zealously on Church defence platforms in order to discuss it. On the side of the Liberationists there was also a large expenditure of strength in the struggle. They could not imagine that it was a pleasant thing for him to leave his books and his quiet work in his own church in order to stand on public platforms like that in order to address night after night vast assemblies like that. Only the pressure of convictions which in his conscience he could not resist constrained him to forsake the work in which he had his deepest joy in order to do work of the kind he was doing. If the Establishment was to come to an end in ten or twenty years, why should there be this protracted waste of strength in fighting the battle? There was another reason for ending the controversy. On both sides—on the side of Church defence and on the side of the Liberation movement—there were many men who were able to rise above the storm of political and ecclesiastical conflict, and keep their heads calm, and to observe in the controversy all the obligations of justice, of honour, and of Christian charity. But this controversy was of a kind that stirred the passions of men very deeply. Large numbers of men on both sides were unable to exercise this self-restraint. So long as this controversy lasted on the Liberal side there was likely to continue coarse and violent abuse of the clergy. Their defence of the Establishment would be ascribed by some speakers to the meanest and basest motives; their religious opinions would be misrepresented; their religious practices scoffed at; their religious work unjustly depreciated. However much they might deplore speeches of the kind to which he was referring, and although the Liberation Society itself would, he was sure, refuse to sanction such speeches on the part of its acknowledged agents, many who took part in this struggle were sure to be guilty of the excesses which he had just condemned. On the other side there would be equal violence and equal coarseness, slanders as reckless, and calumnies as malignant. The course that Liberationists were taking would be attributed to the inspiration of the basest passions. They

should be charged with recommending to the country a policy of spoliation and sacrilege. They should be described as infidels and atheists. Envy, wrath, malice, and all uncharitableness were certain to continue until this controversy was ended, and if it was going to end in favour of liberation, in the interests of peace, good neighbourliness, and Christian charity, he said let it end at once. There was another aspect of the subject. If the Establishment was to come to an end within the next quarter of a century certainly, and perhaps earlier, why should the time of Parliament be any longer occupied in determining ecclesiastical questions which would have to be determined over again by Churchmen themselves as soon as their Church was free? It was very certain that the ecclesiastical establishment had a stormy time before it. That great party which sprang into existence more than forty years ago—the party which professed the principles which were advocated and illustrated with so much learning, and eloquence, and genius in the "Tracts for the Times"—numbered according to its own account at least 2,000 of the clergy, reckoning only its most advanced men. These men had great energy. Many of them had considerable ability and learning. Many of them were young, and had all the ardour and passion of youth, and depend upon it they did not mean to be put down. Suppose that the appeal now before the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council went against Mr. Ridsdale, and it was declared to be illegal to wear what were called sacrificial vestments, and for the celebrant in the Holy Communion to turn his back upon the people and his face to the altar, and to use wafer bread in that sacred service; and suppose that Lord Penzance's judgment in the Hatcham case was also affirmed by the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council, and the position of the Ritualistic clergy in the Church of England made untenable, did they imagine that they would submit to the authority of those courts of law? There would be perpetual agitation in order to secure a change in the judgment, or in the law upon which the judgment was founded, and the only authority to which they could appeal was that House in which the Chairman had the honour to sit. If a bill was to be brought into the House of Commons in order to legalise the vestments and the eastward position, and to legalise the use of wafer-bread in the sacrament, and the mixing of water with the wine in the chalice, he could hardly congratulate Mr. Cross upon the distinction which Bolton had conferred upon him. (Laughter, and "Hear, hear.") But suppose the decision went the other way, and suppose that the Ritualistic position is sanctioned by the authority of the Judicial Committee—suppose it should be declared that the service which approximates indefinitely near to the services of the Church of Rome is legal in the Establishment of this country, was there likely to be peace then? Why, the disgraceful scenes that were witnessed at Hatcham a few weeks ago, when a mob insulted those who were worshipping God, mistakenly, indeed, in his judgment, but according to their own consciences, are likely to be repeated in other and more violent forms all England over. They had not forgotten the excitement with which the House of Commons carried the Public Worship Regulation Bill a few sessions ago in order to put down Ritualism, and if after that bill Ritualism in the Church was surrounded by new and stronger legal defences they would have excitement of that kind in the House over and over again in an intenser form. Whatever else might be doubtful in relation to the public spirit of this country, this remained certain, that the old hatred of Romanism which had been strongest and most intense in the proudest periods of our national history only slumbered, and had only to be spoken to in order to be called from its sleep, and to manifest once more the same irresistible energy it had manifested in centuries gone by.—*Mr. Dale.*

#### THE LIBERAL PARTY AND DISESTABLISHMENT.

It seemed to him that just now the Liberal party was almost as heterogeneous politically as the ecclesiastical Establishment was doctrinally and ecclesiastically. Talk about definition of ecclesiastical Establishment! He should like somebody to give a definition of the Liberal party just now. What was it going to do? But perhaps the Liberal party might approximate to something like agreement on the question of the extension of the franchise to the agricultural labourers. He believed that that question was one of immense political magnitude and significance. (Hear, hear.) It was very certain that the organisation of the agricultural labourers was rapidly extending from county to county, and its strength consolidating year by year. They did not hear much about it, because these organisations were not able to gather great assemblies in towns where there were daily newspapers, and where their proceedings were likely to be reported. It seemed to him that statesmen ought to ask what was likely to happen if a great section of the people organised themselves for political purposes, while the country still refused to grant them the power to express their convictions on national affairs. He was bound to say that if the Liberal leaders made the extension of the franchise the great issue at the next general election he personally should be willing to see the question of disestablishment postponed in order that the extension of the franchise might be carried. (Hear, hear.) There was a special reason for calling the labourers in before the question was thoroughly determined. They were continually told that the Church had the



strongest claim on the nation, because of the eminent services it had rendered to the rural districts of the country. Well, let them have the agricultural labourers in, and hear their judgment upon it. Give Joseph Arch a chance of carrying a county, and if he went to the House of Commons as a county member, representing the labourers, they would hear through his lips what they thought the Establishment had done for them. (Cheers.) What struck him as being very remarkable was this, that while on all Church Defence platforms they were perpetually told the Church had rendered such immense services to the agricultural labourers, he never found those gentlemen who were prominent in the defence of the Church expressing any anxiety that the agricultural labourer should have a vote. (Hear, hear.) How was it the defenders of the Church did not call in their friends? The time of trouble was coming; why did they not ask that those who ought to be the most loyal supporters of an institution they were anxious to defend should add their strength to the forces by which in the time of trial the Church was to be protected? (Hear, hear.) Whether the Church defenders wanted the agricultural labourers, or not, he was anxious they should have the franchise, whatever might be their opinion on the question of disestablishment. (Hear.) The question was so grave, and one of such immense magnitude, that the whole nation ought to take part in settling it—not merely the working people and the middle classes of the great manufacturing towns, and the gentry and large farmers of the counties, but the labourers, above all men in England, should have a voice in settling this great controversy. (Cheers.)—*Mr. Dale.*

#### THE DISESTABLISHMENT MOVEMENT.

In December the Liberation Society held about a hundred meetings, and in January nearly seventy. Our columns this week will indicate that these meetings have not by any means exhausted the organising power of the society. The meetings at Bolton have produced, we believe, an ardent and enthusiastic feeling throughout Lancashire. They were well reported in the Bolton papers and in the *Manchester Examiner*. Mr. Fisher's debate at Royston attracted the attention and attendance of people for miles around, while, as we understand, it produced the proper and expected effect on the audience generally, in favour of disestablishment. Archdeacon Emery, who occupied the chair, paid a high compliment to Mr. Fisher, and said he had given him something to think of. The Conference at Chelsea was the best of the recent Metropolitan Conferences. These meetings are intended to organise the metropolitan friends of disestablishment and secure a proper result at the next General Election. The Tooth case has furnished many apt illustrations of the Church Establishment system, of which lecturers in all parts of the country are taking advantage. Dr. Hutton, in Scotland, has done able service, and has, we believe, found an almost unanimous feeling in favour of disestablishment.

#### THE GREAT MEETING AT BOLTON.

In our last number we were able briefly to characterise this remarkable meeting. It was held in the Temperance Hall, which has an accommodation of some 3,000 persons. That place was soon crowded on Tuesday night, and the large number of persons unable to obtain admission held a second meeting in the Co-operative Hall. The *Bolton Evening Guardian*, which reports the proceedings to the extent of twelve columns, says that there has been no such interest exhibited on any question in Bolton since the days of the free-trade agitation. The arrangements, which were very complete, were carried out with untiring energy under the auspices of the Rev. G. S. Ordish, of Little Lever. Admission was by ticket, and a great many ladies were present. One or two special trains to and from Bolton were run in connection with the demonstration. From Darwen, Little Lever, Farnworth, Westhoughton, Wigan, and the surrounding villages, large numbers of visitors arrived, and the assembly comprised a greater number of residents in the district than has ever been assembled within the Temperance Hall in the town. There was a strong force of police present, but their services were not required. On the platform there was a great array of ministers of all denominations from the town and district around.

Mr. Cross, M.P. for the borough, occupied the chair, and was received with much enthusiasm. His speech was very brief, referring chiefly to the magnitude of the subject, and pointing out that the question was not whether the doctrines and practices of the Anglican Churches are true or not, but whether the privileged establishment by Parliament of any set of doctrines was not a detriment to the nation. (Cheers.) At the close of his remarks a telegram was read from Mr. Hugh Mason to this effect:—"Sorry beyond explanation that I am entirely prevented by public work from coming to your glorious meeting to-night, which will emanci-

pate your borough." (Loud cheers and laughter.) Mr. J. G. Rogers, B.A., then addressed the meeting at some length, and with much animation, and was followed by Mr. R. W. Dale, M.A. Both speeches produced a marked effect, and we have given some extracts in another column. At the close of Mr. Dale's address, a vote of thanks to the deputation was moved by Mr. T. H. Winder, who said that when asked to speak he felt a good deal of timidity, of which, after the speeches he had heard, he was now ashamed, and he hoped they would all feel a stronger determination to carry on their great work. Mr. J. P. Thomasson, in seconding the motion, said he attached great importance to the disendowment question, which ought to be solved in the interests of the entire nation, and not of a section of the people. The resolution having been carried with acclamation, Mr. Dale moved a vote of thanks to the chairman, and congratulated that great constituency on having Mr. Cross for one of its members. (Hear, hear.) Perhaps his friend Mr. Rogers would allow him to use a story he had heard him use before. He heard him say once that an Irishman told a friend of his that he knew of something better than a glass of whisky. "What?" said Pat. "Why, two, of course," said his friend. (Loud laughter.) He would leave the application to Mr. Cross. (Laughter and cheers.) Mr. Rogers, in reply, said his friend had taken the whisky out of his mouth. (Loud laughter.) But he was now a rather zealous advocate of the United Kingdom Alliance. (Laughter.) Remarking that the other meeting had been addressed by his old and tried friend Mr. Barnes, he asked why some one like Mr. Barnes should not be sent by Bolton to stand side by side with Mr. Cross, who had led the borough out of the slough of reaction. (Cheers.) In responding, the Chairman enquired the noble addresses to which they had listened, which treated disestablishment as a national and great political question. It had also been treated in the interests of the Church itself; and if the Establishment fell, as fall it certainly must some day—(Hear, hear)—there was no reason to believe that the Church would lose one iota of the respect which it deserved and in which it was held by the people in this kingdom. (Applause.)

Many hundreds were present at the "overflow" meeting, which was held in the Co-operative Hall, and that building was also crowded. Mr. R. S. Ashton, J.P., B.A., presided, and the meeting was addressed by Mr. T. H. Winder, Mr. Thos. Barnes, J.P., the Rev. J. M'Dougall (Darwen); and the Rev. J. G. Rogers addressed the meeting in support of a resolution identical with that adopted at the meeting in the Temperance Hall, which was to the following effect:—

That this meeting desires to express its opinion that any patronage or privilege given by the State to any religious community is injurious to social union and to the growth of national life.

The Chairman described in graphic terms the condition of parties inside the Church, and amid cheers expressed the hope that Mr. Barnes, their late member, would, ere long, be induced to come forward again as a candidate. Mr. Winder, in moving the resolution, said he would like to see disestablishment a plank in the Liberal platform of their borough—being the most momentous question unsettled. If there was any question of more importance which the Liberal party should take up before it, let the people know what it was, and settle it. (Hear, hear.) But, in his opinion, there was no question which had ever come before the people of this country so transcendently important as the one now under consideration. His own opinion was that the State-Church had been at the root of many troubles, and that as Reformers they had had to contend with an Establishment which had been and which was to the present day a political organisation as well as a religious institution. (Hear, hear.) He believed disestablishment would tend to break up that political power, and, at the same time, it would do the Church, as a religious power, a very good deal of good. (Applause.) Mr. Thomas Barnes, who was received with much enthusiasm, dealt with the argumentative part of the subject with great temper and weight. He said it should be distinctly understood that the advocates of disestablishment made no attack upon the character, or professions, or opinions, or anything else connected with the clergy or the Church itself. But he maintained that the establishment of a Church of any denomination, placed one class of the people of the land in an advantageous position to the disadvantage of the other classes. (Hear, hear.) And when they considered that the Established Church of England did not comprise the whole, nor even half, of the inhabitants of the country, it was the more glaring that a section of the population should be selected and patronised by the Government, and placed in an advantageous position over their fellow men. He believed that the clergy of the Church of England were as humane, as good men, and as full of good sentiments and morality as other men. (Hear, hear.) But they had been placed, as in an Established Church, in a position which had led them to act as they had acted. If the Church were separated from the State, and if the people could see the clergy placed on the same level as ministers of other denominations, he believed they would be found coming forward much oftener than now working in causes having for their objects the progress of the people and of the nation.

The Rev. J. M'Dougall followed in an able and racy speech, in which he made some humorous allusions to Mr. Berger, his old opponent. Mr.

Rogers, who was very cordially cheered, followed, and in the course of his speech, urged upon Nonconformists the necessity of organisation with a view to promote the cause of disestablishment. A vote of thanks to the chairman, moved by Mr. Barnes and seconded by the Rev. J. M'Dougall, brought the proceedings to a close.

#### PUBLIC DISCUSSION AT ROYSTON.

In accordance with arrangements made some time since, Mr. John Fisher, the organising secretary of the Liberation Society, held on Tuesday and Wednesday of the week before last at Royston a debate upon two subjects relating to the Established Church question, with the Rev. I. O. Powell, vicar of Whaddon, who had challenged him to the discussion. The Ven. Archdeacon Emery was chosen chairman, and the debate lasted through two evenings. On the first evening the subject was, "Is the Union of Church and State Scriptural or Unscriptural?" on the second, "Is the Union of Church and State good to both or injurious to both?" The debates were held in the Institute, which was crowded with persons from all parts of the surrounding neighbourhood, including a large gathering of both Established and Nonconformist ministers, and the *Royston Crow* devotes nine columns to a report of it, which, after all, is evidently very abbreviated.

It would be doing injustice to the debaters to summarise what is only a summary, and we therefore will not attempt to give a *précis* of the arguments. The Chairman opened the proceedings with dignity, and, indeed, as we understand, the Archdeacon's conduct all through was characterised by great impartiality and courtesy. He first called upon the meeting to engage in prayer, after which he gave a brief opening address, in the course of which he remarked that while his own mind was made up, "still he trusted that while life lasted he should ever be ready to listen to reason." Having next stated the conditions of debate, he called upon the Rev. I. O. Powell to take the affirmative of the question, "That the union of the Church and State is Scriptural." Mr. Powell was warmly received by his friends. He adopted, at the beginning, the old line of the Old Testament argument, imparting, so far as we can judge from the report, no new aspect to it. Mr. Fisher, on rejoining, was also greeted with loud cheers. He began by referring to the excellent taste of the Chairman's address, and to the audience, which was everything that a candid debater could require, and proceeded with the argument that the union of Church and State was unscriptural, making several points. One had reference to the *conge d'elire*. At the close of the speech, the Chairman said that "Mr. Fisher had thrown out some hard nuts to crack, and if it had not been out of order on his part he should have tried to crack even that nut, the *conge d'elire*." Mr. Powell rejoined, and Mr. Fisher again replied to him—each occupying twenty minutes. The next speeches occupied a quarter-of-an-hour each, and ended the debate for that evening. The Chairman made one or two remarks in conclusion, and thanked the audience for their courtesy.

On the next night there was again a large and mixed audience, who received the debaters with every mark of appreciation. After prayer and some introductory observations, the Chairman called upon Mr. Fisher to open the discussion as to whether the union of Church and State was injurious or not to both. Mr. Fisher held that it was injurious. His line of argument was very comprehensive, and was lit up with illustrations drawn from a variety of sources. He was cheered repeatedly during the delivery of his address. Mr. Powell replied, but could not get through in time, and therefore begged for more, which the Chairman, amidst laughter and applause, declined to give him. Mr. Fisher then made his second speech, and was replied to; a third followed, and Mr. Powell made the last. The Chairman then rose, and said his task of the last two evenings had been somewhat trying. He did not disagree with the criticisms of Mr. Fisher about the Established Church, and was not sorry he had been brought face to face with him (Mr. Fisher) to hear good-temperedly the dark parts of the Church he loved. He had said before that he did not seek his position as Chairman of the discussion, but on being requested by Mr. Powell, a clergyman in his archdeaconry, who, he believed, was a devoted servant of Christ, he felt he could not refuse to take the chair. (Hear.) He did not think sufficient had been said about the question, but the time would not permit. He supposed that all present were going away with an opinion, though they might differ in many cases. He requested them to pray earnestly to the Divine Spirit to guide them aright in these things. (Cheers and applause.) Mr. Fisher rose with great pleasure to propose a vote of thanks to the worthy gentleman who had kindly taken the chair at the discussion. He must say that to the tact and kindly feeling displayed by the Chairman the success of the meeting was attributed. (Applause.) Mr. Powell rose with great pleasure to second the vote of thanks proposed by Mr. Fisher, who, by-the-bye, had for once spoken well. He the (speaker) had no ill-feeling against any one in the room, and on the whole he thought they were a very contented lot. He concluded by saying it was very good of the Chairman to attend. (Applause.) The resolution was then put to the meeting and carried with acclamation. The Chairman on rising thanked them very much for the vote of thanks they had accorded to him, and for their courtesy to him. He hoped



they would think well over what they had heard. Applause.)

#### MR. FISHER IN NORFOLK.

After leaving Hertfordshire, Mr. Fisher went to Norfolk, where, last week, he delivered five addresses, all of which have been well attended. The first was at Attleborough, on Monday night, where he lectured in the Corn Hall on "The Union of Church and State Injurious to Both." Mr. Joseph Potter occupied the chair, and he was well supported by the leading Dissenters of the district. A hearty vote of thanks, and a request for another lecture concluded the proceedings.

**FAKENHAM.**—On Tuesday Mr. Fisher lectured in the Corn Hall of this town. The Rev. Mr. Tarbotton was in the chair, and the room was well filled. It was in every way a good meeting.

**DISS.**—On Wednesday Mr. Fisher lectured in the Corn Hall, and the *Diss Chronicle* gives a very good report of the lecture. The hall was well filled. Mr. F. Aldrid occupied the chair. At the close of the lecture Mr. Fisher replied to questions put by Mr. Ranson and the Rev. J. Robinson, and a disestablishment resolution was carried, with only a dozen dissentients. After the lecture some of the friends of the society met together in the magistrates' room, and appointed a strong committee. They expressed their intention of carrying on the work with vigour.

**NORWICH.**—On Thursday Mr. Fisher lectured in the large room of the Free Library, when also he had a good audience; Mr. J. D. Smith occupied the chair. The subject was "Ritualism," which Mr. Fisher treated with both clearness and effect. At the close the following proceeding took place—we quote from the *Eastern Daily Press*:—

A gentleman, a former churchwarden of St. Lawrence, said that as a Conservative and a Ritualist, he joined heartily in wishing for disestablishment. He contended the lecturer was wrong in saying the High-Church movement was a clerical movement; and in support of this he mentioned the large number of working men's associations in existence, and also the large congregations which assembled while the Rev. E. A. Hillyard instituted Ritualistic services in Norwich. Mr. Tooth, to whom he ascribed all honour, was backed up by a large number of people; whereas, three men were the cause of bringing all this persecution about. He contended that the Prayer-book used the term "Priest," and the High Churchmen only carried out the Prayer-book. Alluding to the Public Worship Act, he said Lord Beaconsfield had never made a greater mistake than he did in giving the Ritualists such a slap in the face; and he had got something in return, for some of the seats which the Conservatives had lost had gone over to the Liberals, because of the inactivity of the Ritualists. (Hear, hear.) At the last Norwich election he refrained from voting for the Conservative candidate, and that would be his line of conduct, at any rate till Lord Beaconsfield apologised for what he had done. He believed Parliament had no right to legislate for the Church of England. (Cheers.) In conclusion, he expressed his agreeable surprise at the fairness the lecturer had given his views; and he begged to move a hearty vote of thanks to him. (Cheers.)

Another gentleman present came forward and said that as a Ritualist he advocated disestablishment. (Cheers.) He said it was only the Low Churchmen that feared disestablishment, and not the Ritualists. In referring to the confession and absolution, he contended that both were taught by the Prayer Book, and therefore to persecute a priest for obeying the Prayer Book was unjust and unrighteous. He seconded the vote of thanks to the lecturer, which his friend had moved.

The Chairman said those who differed from the lecturer had conducted themselves in a most gentlemanly and fair manner, and he rejoiced that they had come forward in a manly way to state their views and thank the lecturer. The motion on being put to the meeting was carried amidst applause. The Lecturer, in reply, said he had attended many meetings, but he had never before had a vote of thanks proposed and seconded by Churchmen. When Churchmen could come forward and endorse the views of a Liberationist lecturer they might come to the conclusion that they were not far off a settlement of the question. (Cheers.) In conclusion he said he had never seen anything more encouraging than the character of this meeting. A vote of thanks to the Chairman closed the proceedings.

**YARMOUTH.**—On Friday evening Mr. Fisher lectured in the Corn Hall on "The Right of the Nation to deal with her Ecclesiastical Endowments." The mayor had refused the use of the Town Hall, though last year it was lent for the purposes of a Church Defence Lecture. The result was that a much larger company than the Town Hall would have held met together in the spacious Corn Hall. Mr. Palgrave Brown, presided, and made an excellent opening speech. Mr. Fisher's lecture was well received, and he and the Chairman were cordially thanked for their services.

These lectures were arranged for by Mr. Foad, the newly appointed county agent of the Liberation Society.

#### CONFERENCE AT CHELSEA.

On Tuesday, the 30th of Jan. a conference of the friends of disestablishment in the borough of Chelsea was held in the Prince's-gate Hotel, South Kensington, for the purpose of forming a borough council to act in concert with the Executive Committee of the Liberation Society. There was a good attendance, representing all sections of the disestablishment party. Amongst those present were Mr. E. Spicer, Mr. J. W. Taylor, the Rev. S. Green, Mr. W. Knight, the Rev. R. H. Roberts, Mr. W. Jones, Mr. George Wells, Mr. E.

T. Beach, the Rev. R. Macbeth, Mr. J. T. Stanesby, the Rev. J. S. Russell, Mr. J. Heard, Mr. J. F. B. Firth, and Mr. Carvell Williams. The chair was taken by Mr. H. Richard, M.P., who opened the meeting with an earnest and impressive address. Letters were then read from Mr. James Heywood, F.R.S., Mr. Henry Wright, Mr. W. Shaen, and others, expressing regret at being unable to attend, and expressing approval of the object of the conference. Mr. Carvell Williams briefly referred to the present position of the disestablishment movement, and pointed out the necessity for local organisation in the metropolitan boroughs, explaining at the same time the work which would devolve upon the proposed council. Mr. J. F. B. Firth next spoke, referring to local ecclesiastical matters, and the great gain to the cause of disestablishment which had resulted from the action of the clergy in the recent school board contest. A general discussion then followed on the proposal to establish a borough council, in the course of which frequent reference was made to Mr. Lamport, the gentleman selected to be the second Liberal candidate at the next general election; and it was stated that he had been selected on the distinct understanding that he would vote for disestablishment. The formation of the proposed council was heartily approved, and was agreed upon by a unanimous vote, when a cordial vote of thanks to the chairman followed and closed the proceedings. Similar conferences in Westminster, Hackney, and other metropolitan boroughs are being arranged for, and will be held in the course of the present month.

**ROTHERHITHE.**—An audience of about 250 assembled at Midway Sunday-school, Rotherhithe, on Wednesday evening, 24th inst., the Rev. A. E. Harbord in the chair. Mr. J. M. Camp, agent of the Liberation Society, spoke for an hour and a-half with eloquence and such effect that the Church Defence agents, who were present to offer opposition, had not a word to say. A resolution in harmony with the object of the meeting was moved and seconded, and carried with only two nays. Subject—"Disestablishment: What it means, and why we wish it?"

**ENFIELD.**—Mr. J. Carvell Williams gave an address on "Disestablishment Practically Considered" in the Lecture Hall, Chase Side, Enfield, on Tuesday, the 23rd inst., Mr. A. G. Kitching in the chair. There was a large and most respectable audience, which gave frequent and marked expression of its approval of the lecture. J. Abbiss, Esq., J.P., moved, and the Rev. H. S. Toms seconded a cordial vote of thanks, the latter gentleman declaring that one of the leading Churchmen of the parish, and a staunch Conservative, had told him that if Mr. Gladstone would only unfurl the flag of disestablishment, he would not only vote, but work heart and soul to promote his return to power. The local *Observer*—a Church paper—reports the lecture at great length, and has a leader on the subject advocating disestablishment.

**PADDINGTON.**—On Thursday last, the 25th, Mr. G. Kearley delivered a lecture on "Disestablishment" in the schoolroom of Paddington Chapel, Mr. J. Hales in the chair. There was a large and enthusiastic audience, and Mr. Reed, of the Church Defence Association, was present, and greatly helped the object of the meeting by some maladroitness criticisms of the lecture, which provoked the scornful laughter of the audience, and gave opportunity for a telling reply. Cordial votes of thanks closed a most excellent meeting.

#### MR. GORDON'S MEETINGS.

**FINEDON, NEAR WELLINGBOROUGH.**—On Monday evening week Mr. Gordon lectured in the Temperance Hall, and had good and responsive hearing. Mr. Harlech was in the chair.

**PETERBOROUGH.**—Tuesday, in the Wentworth Hall here, Mr. Conne Roberts took the chair for Mr. Gordon. There was a full house, and, on the whole, good hearing for the lecture, although opposition was present, which Mr. Gordon met with spirit. Mr. Reed replied for fifty minutes, an unparalleled stretch of courtesy being given to him. Mr. Gordon's rejoinder was often interrupted, but crushed up point after point. There was great enthusiasm of friends, and emphatic resolution, moved by Rev. Dr. Dawson, Wesleyan superintendent, and seconded by the Rev. Mr. Murray, which was carried by a large majority.

**ROADE, NEAR BLISWORTH.**—On Wednesday evening, Mr. Gordon was at the Baptist School, the pastor, the Rev. Mr. Howe, presiding. It was a full meeting, several hearty friends over from Blisworth, despite the incessant rain. The lecture was received with great interest.

**GOLCAR.**—On Friday night Mr. Wm. Hirst presided here for Mr. Gordon. It was a reply lecture to Mr. Berger's reply to Mr. Gordon's late lecture in Golcar, and intense interest was excited. The hall was crammed to suffocation, and Mr. Gordon's points were received with great enthusiasm.

This week Mr. Gordon is in Wiltshire, and thence to Somerset and Hants.

#### THE MIDLAND COUNTIES.

**ASTON.**—On Monday, January 22, Mr. G. Hastings delivered his lecture on "Bernard Palissy, the Huguenot Potter," in Park-road Chapel, in connection with the Young Men's Class, Mr. J. H. Toms, the pastor, presiding. The lecturer dwelt on the qualities of patient endurance, self-denial, and energy, displayed by Palissy both as potter and

reformer, and urged upon the young especially the duty and privilege of carrying into fullest effect the principles which led Palissy to suffer for conscience' sake.

**EWIAS HAROLD.**—Mr. G. Hastings visited this village on Tuesday, Jan. 23, and lectured in the Baptist Chapel, on "Rationalism, Ritualism, and Romanism; how they are fostered." There was a goodly company present, several coming in from neighbouring places. Rev. T. Williams occupied the chair.

**SKENFORTH.**—To a well-constituted audience Mr. Hastings repeated the same lecture in Norton Baptist Chapel, on Wednesday, 24th inst. In spite of bad weather and roads many walked several miles to attend.

**GARWAY.**—Mr. G. Hastings lectured in the Baptist Chapel here, on Thursday, Jan. 25, on "Bernard Palissy, the Huguenot Potter," to a gratified assembly.

**ORCOF.**—The Baptist Chapel in this Herefordshire village on Friday evening, Jan. 26, had, it is estimated, the largest number of persons within its walls that had ever been brought together in the neighbourhood before, the occasion being a lecture on "Church and State," by Mr. G. Hastings, agent of the Liberation Society. The crowded state of the chapel seemed to give zest to the subject, and energy of thought and expression to the lecturer, who spoke with great freedom for an hour and a-half. The Rev. Mr. Parsons, vicar of Dewchurch, spoke in opposition, which only served still further to help Mr. Hastings in scoring in new points. The meeting gave a hearty approval of the society's principles, the Rev. J. Williams presided. Some scores were unable to obtain entrance, and stood outside. The society's tracts were gladly received.

**NEWTON, NEAR WISBEACH.**—On Tuesday evening last the Rev. J. H. Lummis visited this place, and delivered a lecture on the "Struggles of Non-conformity—past and present," to a fair audience. Vote of thanks. New ground.

**ELM, NEAR WISBEACH.**—An interesting meeting was held here on Friday evening last, when Mr. Lummis delivered a lecture which was exceedingly well received. The Rev. W. M. Batterbee also spoke. Mr. Lummis was requested to revisit the place at an early date, as on account of local grievances much attention is now given to the question of religious equality.

**LOUGHBORO.**—Mr. Fisher delivered a lecture in the Town Hall, on Friday evening, on "The Right of the Nation to deal with her Ecclesiastical Endowments." John Bennett, Esq., of Leicester, occupied the chair, and the hall was well filled. The lecture, which occupied close on two hours in its delivery, was well received; there was not the slightest interruption, and the applause was loud and frequent. After the lecture, Mr. Reed, of the Church Defence Association, addressed the meeting. There was every disposition to hear him, but his language and manner were so violent that the audience became greatly excited. He attributed to the unfairness of a Loughboro' audience the disorder that was occasioned by his own supporters, and it was with difficulty that he continued his remarks. Mr. Fisher essayed to reply, but he was very imperfectly heard. The meeting broke up at a late hour.

**SILVERDALE, STAFFORDSHIRE.**—On Monday, Jan. 29, the Rev. J. S. James lectured to an interested company in this mining village, on "The Pilgrim Fathers." Mr. Viggers presided, and cordial votes of thanks followed the lecture.

**UTTOXETER, STAFFORDSHIRE.**—The Rev. J. Scott James has lectured in the Town Hall to a respectable audience. The Rev. Dorral Lee took the chair, and in a brief speech proclaimed himself an ardent supporter of the Liberation Society and its principles. Mr. Hastings, Midland agent, also spoke, and alluded to the vicar having sent a person to take notes, threatening that he would afterwards expose the promoters of the meeting.

**WAKEFIELD.**—The Rev. Charles Williams, of Accrington, gave an address in the Music Saloon, on Tuesday evening of last week, on "The State versus the Ritualists." The meeting was very largely attended. The chair was occupied by Mr. S. Bruce, J.P. This being the annual meeting of the Wakefield Auxiliary of the Liberation Society, the committee and officers for the ensuing year were chosen. Mr. Williams's address was vigorous and pointed, and was received with great interest. At the close the meeting was addressed by Mr. J. Briggs, J.P., and the Rev. J. S. Eastmead.

**DR. HUTTON'S MEETINGS IN SCOTLAND.**—The Rev. Dr. Hutton, of Paisley, has addressed four meetings on the State-Church question in Scotland—at Nairn, Inverness, Forres, and Elgin. We have received reports of the lectures. The Edinburgh *Daily Review* of Tuesday last devotes five columns to the lecture at Nairn, where Dr. Hutton spoke for two hours. We understand that there is every sign of a rapid increase in the disestablishment feeling in Scotland.

**A NOVEL SIGHT AT WORKSOP.**—A very interesting scene took place at a Liberation meeting held at Worksop, Notts, on Friday evening last, Feb. 3. The Rev. James Browne, B.A., delivered a lecture, which was well received. At the conclusion of the lecture the incumbent of St. John's, Worksop, opposed Mr. Browne's views. A resolution was then proposed in favour of the Liberation Society by the Rev. T. E. Moore (Independent); this was



seconded by the Rev. E. T. Hamel, curate of the incumbent who had only been a few minutes before opposing the society. Mr. Hamel was received with great applause, waving of hats, and shouting, which was long continued. The rev. gentleman spoke with great feeling, and was repeatedly cheered. It was truly a singular sight to see the incumbent of a church speaking against the Liberation Society and his own curate speaking in its favour, both being on the same platform and the same evening. It is expected that the curate will soon leave Workop. We learn from the *Sheffield Independent* that there was quite a scene in St. John's Church on Sunday evening. Mr. Hamel before commencing his sermon denied the imputation that he preached false doctrine, and after the sermon Mr. Dobree repeated the charge from the chancel. The former walked out of the church, and the congregation retired disgusted.

#### LORD MINTO ON DISESTABLISHMENT IN SCOTLAND.

The following letter has been addressed by Lord Minto to the Right Hon. W. P. Adam, M.P. :—  
Jan. 22, 1877.

My Dear Adam,—I have read with interest those portions of your recent speeches to your constituents, that refer to the question of disestablishment in Scotland. Whatever falls from you on that subject is not only valuable in itself, but may be regarded more or less justly as being indicative of the course which may hereafter be followed by the Liberal party; and I therefore wish to show in a few words why the passive and expectant policy recommended requires, in my opinion, to be supplemented by more active preparations for coming changes. You recommend, very judiciously, to the Liberal Association of Fife that disestablishment should not be made what is called a testing question for candidates at elections; you think that the question will work itself to the front in its own good time, that it has ripened even in the last two years, and will continue to ripen progressively till at length it will become expedient to deal with it seriously in Parliament—a consummation to which you yourself, and others whose speeches I have read, evidently look forward with hope and satisfaction. It is seldom, I think, that electors act wisely in seeking to impose upon a candidate who is at all worthy of a seat in a deliberative assembly explicit tests, yes or no, about public questions as the price of success at the poll, the effect being to reduce him from the honourable status of a representative to the position of a delegate or voting machine. Few questions are so simple in themselves, or so independent of all bearing upon other political matters also commanding the attention of public men, as to admit advantageously of this kind of isolated treatment; and certainly disestablishment is not one of them. Holding these views—and I do so on wider grounds than party interests—I agree with you in hoping that disestablishment will not become an out-and-out testing question in the selection of candidates for the House of Commons. I assume that in your speeches you did not intend to deal with the whole question of disestablishment and disendowment, but if observers like yourself already discern that question looming large on the political horizon, then surely a waiting game—mere inaction—is an insufficient programme for the occasion, unless all idea on the part of leading men of giving it some direction and guidance be discarded. On the contrary, with the Irish lesson before our eyes, it will only be exercising ordinary foresight to make timely preparation of information and materials relative to the income and capitalised value of Scottish Church property, and calculations of the amount that may be expected to accrue to the public, after allowing for all deductions contingent upon the work of disendowment. Perhaps the appointment of a royal commission would be requisite for undertaking duties of this kind; indeed, the lamentable and mischievous uncertainties connected with proprietorship of tithes, and the discreditable condition of the tithes laws, would alone more than justify such an appointment. However this may be, I do insist upon the desirability of caution, wariness, and even inquisitiveness being observed in connection with the whole of this important subject, because disestablishment is a word with different meanings in different months, and because a measure wearing that title may assuredly be deeply coloured by the ecclesiastical affinities or the political characteristics of the statesmen or the party which may chance to have the handling of it. A noteworthy instance of the truth of this remark is exhibited in the statute, now two years old, on the kindred subject of Church patronage, a measure which is not only tinged but saturated in every page by the deep dye of Church exclusiveness—an indelible record of its parentage and sponsorship. Now, disestablishment of a particular kind, disestablishment without disendowment, is the very paradise of sacerdotalism, whether among the Catholics abroad or the Anglican or Presbyterian churches at home. This phase of opinion operating through general assemblies, synods, and presbyteries, as it has acted through Papal and prelatical institutions elsewhere, has played and may continue to play an exceptionally important part in Scotland. It is a phase of opinion which, in spite of the questionable proclivities of one or two Liberal statesmen, is less likely, I think, to commend itself to the patronising attention of Whig than of Tory legislators. Under these circumstances, although disestablishment of any kind promoted by a Conservative Ministry would, no doubt, be a singular sight, it would not be more singular than was the so-called abolition of patronage under similar auspices two years ago. What, then, is it that is intended to be done about our churches, mansees, glebes, stipends, tithes, and Church-rates, for these things collectively go to form the gist of the disestablishment question? What are the principles to be laid down regarding the future designation of legacies, benefactions, and gifts now administered by the Established Church, but not the produce of taxation? What about church buildings that have been provided in part by means of assessments, in part by voluntary contributions? What about the question of compensation, with regard to which, in the case of Ireland, so much scandal and expenditure have been incurred? What, again, about the

disestablished congregations when the new system is started? Are they to go out into the cold penniless and roofless, or will some expedient be devised whereby they shall come into possession, for the separate use of their own denomination, of those public structures which are new in theory, and might be rendered in practice, available for the parochial public generally? Surely such questions as those urgently call for elucidation, for unless we know, in a general way at least, to what extent disendowment is to follow disestablishment, and what are to be the equivalents to the parochial public for their surrender, once and for ever, of all interest in those buildings and those resources, we really have little or nothing to guide our judgment to any conclusion on the subject. I hope, then, that the public, and especially the parochial public (by which term I comprehend all parishioners, whether they are ecclesiastically inside or outside the privileged precincts of the Church), will not blindly consent to be denuded of their latent rights to the use of those buildings and revenues which may, I think, through the operation of wise and liberal legislation, be reserved with the prospect of future advantage.

I am, &c., MINTO.

The Right Hon. W. P. Adam, M.P.

The Rev. Dr. Hutton, of Paisley, speaking at a Disestablishment meeting in Nairn, on Monday week, in reference to alleged "fresh efforts of the wirepullers of the Patronage Act," said the alluring efforts of the Kirk were in vain. "The jingle of the purse of the deceased millionaire is heard like low music in all the parish, the 'drum ecclesiastic' is beat at endless soirees, and dinners, and meetings of the Kirk's friends—the recruiting-sergeant is boisterous in his praise of the service—still the expected does not happen."

#### THE HATCHAM CASE.

There was no service at St. James's Church, Hatcham, on Sunday. The Bishop of Rochester had caused a notice to be placed on the north door of the church prohibiting the churchwardens from allowing any one to enter the church to hold such service, lest there should be riotous conduct around the church. As on the two previous Sundays, the church doors were guarded by the police, who were strictly enjoined by the bishop to prevent any person from entering the edifice. The police took possession on Saturday night, and remained on duty till midnight on Sunday. There was no attempt at disturbance. On Sunday the notice board at St. James's, Hatcham, contained a printed placard announcing a meeting, convened by the Church of England Working Men's Society, on Friday, the 16th inst., at the Cannon-street Hotel, for the purpose of "sympathising with Mr. Tooth, and considering what means should be taken to protect the rights and liberties of the Church of England, now being infringed by the operations of the Public Worship Regulation Act."

Mr. Tooth was, it is stated, visited on Friday and Saturday by Canon Gregory, Canon Carter, the Rev. Dr. Irons, Bishops Jenner and Tozer, and others. On Thursday an address of sympathy was presented to Mr. Tooth at Horse-monger-lane Gaol by a deputation of the churchwardens and half-a-dozen leading members of his congregation. The address, which had been hastily drawn up, received in the course of a few days 1,270 signatures, nearly 1,100 being those of parishioners.

The Rev. Mr. Chambers, who was recently appointed by the Bishop of Rochester to officiate at St. James's, Hatcham, *pro tempore*, has resigned the curacy.

Last evening the Rev. J. G. Rogers delivered, at the Memorial Hall, Farringdon-street, the first of two lectures announced to be given by him on "Mr. Tooth and the Church," and "Mr. Tooth and the Law." The lecture was well attended, the hall being crowded, and it was evident from the occasional interruptions that the audience included some Ritualists, but by far the larger portion were in sympathy with the views of the lecturer. Mr. J. B. Firth occupied the chair. The lecturer was exceedingly well received. In the course of his masterly address, he warned the Evangelical party that the priestly element which had got into the national Church was one that was destined to grow; that it was too flattering to the minds of the clergy to be suppressed, and that if they were trusting to the power of the law, they were leaning on a broken reed. From all this he deduced a strong argument in favour of disestablishment, and concluded with a powerful appeal to all Protestants to be firm in maintaining at all hazards the principles for which their fathers had struggled and died.

Before agitating for Mr. Tooth's release, his friends are waiting to see whether his opponents intend taking any steps with the same object. There is an Act of Parliament (3 and 4 Vic., c. 93) empowering the judge of an ecclesiastical court to release a person committed to gaol under the writ *de contumace capiendo*; but there is an important proviso requiring the consent of the other party or parties to the suit before an order to that effect can be made.

It is stated that a noble lord will place a notice on the books of the House of Lords relative to the Hatcham case, and that as early as possible it will be brought before the House and questions asked thereon.

The case of Mr. Tooth was the subject of a lengthened discussion on Monday at the quarterly meeting of the York Branch of the English Church Union, held at York. Among those present were the Dean of York, Canon Gregory, of St. Paul's Cathedral, Canon Carter, Major Worsley, Captain Lowrie, &c. An address was delivered by Canon

Carter on the work of the Union, in the course of which he said that the imprisonment of a priest blameless in his life, concentrated in devotion to his duty, and conscientious in his convictions in defence of what he believed to be the rights and liberties of the Church, would awaken throughout England a sense of the need of readjusting the relations between Church and State. Mr. Tooth has been imprisoned, not for his Ritualism, but for denying the competency of the court which had condemned him, a court formed without the sanction of Convocation, and, therefore, not binding on the Church. Captain Lowrie moved a resolution protesting against the Public Worship Regulation Act as unconstitutional and opposed to the declaration prefixed to the Articles, and sympathising with the Rev. Mr. Tooth and his congregation in the oppression to which they were subjected, while conscientiously contending for the Church's right and liberty. The speaker gave an account of a visit he paid to the Rev. Mr. Tooth, and defended him against the charge of lawlessness. The resolution was seconded by the Rev. Arthur Shadwell, of Longton, supported by Major Worsley and the Rev. George Body, and unanimously adopted.

The *Pall Mall Gazette* gives the outline of a sermon on the present state of the Church preached on Sunday morning by a moderate High-Churchman, the Rev. G. H. Wilkinson, at St. Peter's, Eaton-square. The preacher said he was filled with the gravest apprehension as to the result of the present crisis upon the Church; he feared lest, among a party—extreme in their views, perhaps, but animated by undoubted sincerity of purpose—the idea should gain ground that loyalty to the Head of the Church was the question at stake. Let this once take possession of the minds of earnest men, and appeals to their reason would be henceforth useless—witness the schism in the Church of Scotland, and read the account given in Norman Macleod's *Life of his feelings* on viewing empty benches once tenanted by a Chalmers, a Candlish, and a Cunningham. It would be easy by a stroke of a pen to drive out of our Church Canon Liddon and Mr. Carter; but who should fill their places? who hold entranced for two hours a multitude of people beneath the dome of St. Paul's? Speaking of the Public Worship Regulation Act, Mr. Wilkinson said he could not but consider it to be a remedy worse than the disease it was meant to cure. Regarding, as he did, the proceedings of extreme Ritualists with fear and disfavour, he still thought that a hasty attempt to suppress their doings by calling in the aid of the Legislature was as ill-advised as it would be to pass an "Act to put down Revivalism" because medical men might certify that injury to the minds and bodies of weak persons was caused by religious frenzy and excitement. That the greatest minds in Church and State should be occupied, as in the Ridsdale appeal, in endeavouring to discover what was considered wise and right in matters of ritual at the time of the Reformation was, in Mr. Wilkinson's opinion, equivalent to a denial that the Spirit of God which then guided the Church safely through greater dangers was able now to guide her; and was as foolish as though in the presence of an enemy beleaguering London, our field marshals and ministers of State should hold a solemn inquiry into the style of armour worn in the days of Queen Elizabeth. If it be necessary that our ritual should be remodelled, or an end put to the burning questions of the present day, let a great national conference be held. Let the laity equally with the clergy have a voice in the matter; let the Upper House of Convocation send bishops, endowed with the episcopal gift of sound judgment; let the Lower House send experts in theology and Church Government; and let both Houses of Parliament provide laymen from both sides, Ministerial and Opposition, who might bring to the united council a common sense, of which in parish matters he had often proved the value, and so avert those dangers which threaten a severance of Church and State.

#### RITUALISTS AND EVANGELICALS.

The following two extracts illustrate the kind of unity that exists in the State Church, and deserve to be read in juxtaposition. The first, from a letter that appeared in the last number of the *Church Review*, is to the following effect:—

We are all aware of Mr. Gladstone's opinions upon the P. W. R. Act, and we are equally as conversant with Lord Beaconsfield's sympathies, and knowing the two men we must be aware in whom we can most safely place our trust. Let us then shape our future policy. I have hitherto given my interest and vote to the Conservative party, so have other Churchmen with whom I am acquainted, but in future I shall most assuredly reverse that policy so far as I am concerned, and shall induce others to follow my example. Our friends often say—But we do not want disestablishment. The return of Mr. Gladstone to his old position would not necessarily mean disestablishment. But if it did are we afraid of that? For myself I can say I should prefer separation from State control, even at some pecuniary sacrifice, to the present harassing and unsatisfactory state of things. We cannot submit to the present tyrannical mode of procedure without considerable damage to our cause. We must either have, and at no very distant date, a fresh understanding with, or a complete and entire separation from, the State.

The second extract, from a letter signed 'A Protestant Parson,' which appeared in the *Record* of Friday last, runs as follows:—

Only to-day we read in your paper, the Bishop of Manchester calls the differences between Sacerdotalists and Evangelicals "minor differences," though we read a day or two ago, that Mr. Knox Little put a notice on



his church about THE MASS. "Minor differences" indeed! Differences which cost some of the holiest men their lives at the stake. Then again we read, that the Bishop of Winchester is about to consecrate another Mass-house (excuse my calling a spade a spade) at Kensington. Will the country stand this? Does not his lordship know as well as he knows anything, that this place of worship will be used for the express purpose of inculcating the very doctrines which he, and the "priests" who will officiate there, solemnly pledged themselves "with all faithful diligence to banish and drive away," and "both privately and openly to call upon and encourage others to the same"—that they will deliberately break the law? Sir, there must be a general uprising against this gross immorality I was going to say; but perhaps this language is not soft enough—then this gross inconsistency.

Look again at the list of the churches in one county only, and their mode of Divine worship, published lately by a contemporary. Is it possible that this can go on? The Dissenters themselves will not stand it. A National Church—a National Disgrace! Many of their own youth are being drawn into the vortex, and the whole population is being tainted with the plague. "Minor differences" indeed! If this were applied to Sacerdotalists and Romanists, it is perfectly correct; but to apply it to Sacerdotalists and Evangelicals displays either a lamentable blindness or a sad indifference as to Evangelical truth. Infidelity is said to be on the increase. How can it be otherwise, when the world sees the awful spectacle of men pledged to the most solemn vows and to most definite truth, and yet deliberately and habitually breaking the one and perverting the other. The world, too, sees men paid large incomes for guarding a certain national treasure, and yet many of them are either abetting or letting alone the conspirators, who are endeavouring to rob the people of the heritage of their fathers, and what their fathers laid down their lives to preserve. The Church Association is called on to do a great work, and that it will not be properly done until they succeed in rousing the whole country to a sense of our danger as to the plague of Sacerdotalism, which is spreading on every hand, and corrupting the moral sense of the people. How can we defend a Church which is in such a condition? Before Dissenters I am literally ashamed of her; though I can strenuously uphold her doctrines, and willingly accept her discipline.

#### THE SATURDAY REVIEW, THE REV. JOHN KEBLE, AND THE ECCLESIASTICAL COURTS.

In the course of a lengthened review of the "Occasional Papers and Reviews" by the Rev. John Keble, the last number of the *Saturday Review* has the following noteworthy remarks:—"One of the side issues raised in the present ecclesiastical contest, and which has been hotly disputed in some quarters, concerns the continuity of the modern Ritualist policy with that of the elder Tractarian school. This is of course a simple question of fact, quite independent of the right or wrong of the course pursued in either case; and the papers here presented to us throw considerable light on the fact. It will be readily admitted that no better spokesman of the High Church school could be found than Keble; and it is therefore a matter of some interest to know what line he took as to the relations of the Church of England to the judicial courts which regulate her doctrine and worship. For it was this rather than the particular decision about baptism—strongly as he denounced it—which constituted in his mind the fundamental point at issue in the Gorham controversy. And it is this again, rather than the minute details about dress and ceremonial so elaborately discussed the other day before the Judicial Committee, which, in the judgment of all intelligent observers, constitutes the fundamental difficulty of the situation now. No reader of this volume can doubt that the line taken in this matter by the English Church Union, as representing an important section of the High Church party, whether he approves of it or not, is identical in principle with that recommended and urged with unmistakable emphasis by Keble some five-and-twenty years ago. Besides occasional references elsewhere, there are four papers dealing expressly with the questions raised in the Gorham controversy; three pastoral tracts on 'Trial of Doctrine' and 'A Call to Speak Out,' published in 1850, one before and one after the final decision had been pronounced, and a third on the Exeter Synod of 1851, followed by an article on it reprinted from the *Christian Remembrancer*. It is of course impossible to analyse all these publications. We must content ourselves with briefly indicating the author's point of view. We shall venture here and there to italicise critical words in his indictment. As to the doctrine sanctioned by the Gorham decision, it is roundly denounced as 'a heresy which amounts to no less than the denial of all Sacramental Grace,' and 'the false doctrine which an intrusive court has just sanctioned.' Disestablishment must be welcomed in preference to submission to such a Court. 'Let us tell them (the bishops), boldly or gently, that, much as we value the so-called protection of the State, we love the truth of Christ and the souls of His redeemed more; and that we earnestly hope the day will soon come when they shall discern, what to us is palpable already, that the Church's temporal privileges and endowments would be well parted with, if need be, as the price of freedom from State control.' Or, as it is still more strongly expressed elsewhere, 'We had rather be a Church in earnest separate from the State, than a counterfeit Church in professed union with the State.' In the first Pastoral Tract, published before the Gorham judgment, the constitution of the ecclesiastical courts is denounced as an intolerable grievance, to which neither the Dissenters nor 'the Presbyterians established in Scotland'

would submit for a moment; and the common objection that the Church of England has for three centuries acquiesced in it, is carefully examined and repudiated. The existing state of the law had at most been only 'borne with through ignorance.' The Gorham trial was at most only the second, if not the first, case of any doubtful or important question of doctrine coming before the Judicial Committee, which differed materially, both in its composition and the source of its authority, from the Court of Delegates, established in Henry VIII.'s reign; and to this new court the Church of England and her clergy have neither given their assent, nor do they owe any obedience, except 'in the same sense as a conscientious Dissenter was bound to obey those old Acts of Parliament which fined him for not going to Church,' that is to say, in the sense of being bound to disobey, and submit to the penalty. 'We must demur to the law, and quietly take the consequences.' It is expressly denied that the clergy are bound by their ordination vows or engagements to recognise this civil court, while they are in fact so absolutely bound to reject its jurisdiction that they cannot in conscience appear before it at all; 'if they are wronged elsewhere [viz., in the Court of Arches, as it then was] they will be precluded from appeal, and from defence, if any appeal against them.' All this is carefully explained to hold good equally 'whether the decision in the present [Gorham] case be according to the Nicene Creed or no,' and it is asked whether, 'if it be adverse' (as it was), 'a bishop or archbishop acting on it, would not involve in direct heresy himself and all in communion with him?' At all events, if an heretical decision be given, 'let our protest be, once for all, uttered, and let all Christendom sing with it, that this court is not, cannot be, the Church; that we will not, cannot be, bound by it.' If this was Keble's language before judgment was pronounced, it is not wonderful that it should become stronger after a judgment had been recorded sanctioning 'the denial of all sacramental grace.' He hoped at first that the bishops would 'contravene it in the only effectual way, by openly refusing institution to any one notoriously holding the doctrine it had condoned. He insisted on the necessity of continuous and unflinching resistance, and thus described the existing state of the law:—"Our prime ministers and chief justices, with their Acts of Parliament, are dealing with us and our parishes as a tyrant might who should get a man's wife and children into his power, and say, 'Come in to my terms or I butcher them.' Much more might be quoted to the same effect; but our space is limited, and sufficient proof has already been offered that, in resisting the authority of the Judicial Committee, and what Keble would certainly have considered the equally or still more secular court constituted under the Public Worship Act of 1874, the High Churchmen of our own day are strictly acting on the principles he laid down. This, we need hardly repeat, does not prove that they are right; but it does go far to prove what has been almost fiercely denied—that they are keeping to the traditional lines of the party they profess to represent, and not setting up a new programme of their own."

**HALIFAX PARISH CHURCH AND THE VICAR'S RATE.**—It is stated that the restoration of Halifax Parish Church in a complete form would cost 40,000*l*. If such a sum can be raised there will be no difficulty with the 11,200*l*. required to relieve the householders of the Vicar's Rate, 5,600*l*. of which has already been promised.

**THE RELIGIOUS EQUALITY PARTY.**—We understand that the Executive Committee of the Liberation Society and the Committee of the Dissenting Deputies have agreed jointly to invite the Parliamentary and other friends of religious equality to a breakfast meeting, at which the Parliamentary questions in which they are interested will be discussed. It is very probable that it will take place on Tuesday, the 27th of February, by which time the ecclesiastical programme of the session will have been to a large extent determined.

About 4,500*l*. has been contributed to the proposed new bishopric of Notts.

**CONVOCAION.**—The question of the new arrangements which will be necessitated for the representation of the clergy in Convocation by the formation of new dioceses is, we understand, under consideration, and not improbably the occasion may be taken advantage of to introduce a measure for an increase in the number of representatives of the parochial clergy. In the province of York the proportion of elected to official members is much greater than in Canterbury.—*Pall Mall Gazette*.

**THE FOLKESTONE RITUAL APPEAL.**—The hearings in the case before the ten judges and the five episcopal assessors were brought to a close on Thursday, when, Mr. Shaw having concluded his speech for the respondents, Sir James Stephen replied on the whole case, and at four o'clock the Court rose, their lordships intimating that they should take time to consider their report. This appeal has already occupied one year in coming up, and it is hardly likely their lordships can deliver judgment before the middle of March or until after Easter.

**THE BISHOP OF ELY ON CHURCH AND STATE.**—The Bishop of Ely, preaching before the University of Cambridge on Sunday, said his office warranted, and the times demanded, that he should speak on

the subject of Church and State. The union had hallowed the State and benefited the Church, guarding it from the liability of other religious bodies to be swept away by the means of unregulated enthusiasm. It had made the Church the quiet home of thought, which conducted to the retention of the allegiance of the educated classes. The downfall of the Church as an Establishment would mean the commencement of a harsher, narrower ecclesiastical policy.

**THE BISHOPRIC OF ROCHESTER.**—It is anticipated that the Bishopric of Rochester, which will become vacant in the course of a few days by the transference of Bishop Claughton to the newly-formed see of St. Albans, will be conferred upon the Very Rev. Edward Bickersteth, D.D., Dean of Lichfield, and Prolocutor of the Lower House of the Convocation of the Province of Canterbury. Dean Bickersteth was for many years Archdeacon of Buckingham and Vicar of Aylesbury, and although moderate in his ecclesiastical views, has an inclination to the High Church party. He is not, however, by any means a Ritualist.—*Post*.

**NONCONFORMISTS AND THE SENIOR WRANGLERSHIP.**—Mr. McAlister, the senior wrangler of the year, is, we believe, a Nonconformist; as is also the third on the list, Mr. Rowe. This is the eighth time within seventeen years that this great distinction has been similarly won, the list being as follows:—1860, Stirling; 1861, Aldis; 1868, Morton; 1869, Hartog; 1871, Hopkinson; 1873, Harding; 1875, Lord; 1877, McAlister; and in 1874, the second, third, and fourth on the list were all Nonconformists. Considering how small a proportion of the undergraduates at Cambridge are Nonconformists, this is extraordinary success, and amply vindicates those whose exertions broke down the barriers in the way of their full enjoyment of University honours and advantages.—*Liberator*.

**PROTESTANT EVANGELISATION IN BELGIUM.**—Mr. Emile de Laveleye, 38, Rue Courtois, Liège, appeals in the *Flandre Libérale* on behalf of the inhabitants of Sart-Dames-Avelines in Brabant. It will be remembered that last winter a dispute arose between them and the Archbishop of Malines on the removal of their curate, whom they greatly appreciated; and they decided to invite a Protestant preacher, who has been labouring there with much success. They now wish to build a place of worship of their own, and they ask for help on behalf of this movement as an affirmation of liberty of conscience, and a sincere and conscientious protest against sacerdotal oppression.

**THE PROPOSED BRISTOL BISHOPRIC.**—On Friday a deputation from this city waited upon Mr. Cross, the Home Secretary, and presented to him the memorial adopted at the meeting held recently at the Council House, setting forth the claims of Bristol to consideration in the constitution of new sees. The Home Secretary promised that the subject should receive his best consideration, but pointed out that in dealing with the matter of an increase in the episcopate, various claims had to be regarded, and reminded the deputation that the populations of the counties of Lancashire, Yorkshire, Northumberland, and Derby and Notts were far greater than that of the proposed diocese.

**THE PUBLIC WORSHIP REGULATION ACT.**—The London correspondent of the *Dublin Daily Express* says:—"Mr. Hubbard, the member for the City, intends, I believe, to bring in a bill for the repeal of the Public Worship Act, and I should not be surprised if the question which this bill raises does not cause the Government and the House quite as much trouble as the Eastern Question. There is no doubt that the Hatcham case has considerably excited public feeling, and has deeply irritated a small but active party in the Church. The Prime Minister and the Lord Chancellor were the chief supporters of the Public Worship Act. Lord Salisbury and Mr. Hardy were opposed to it, and would gladly see it repealed. The question, therefore, is likely to cause no end of trouble."

**RITUALISTS AND DISESTABLISHMENT.**—From "St. Michael's Clergy House, Folkestone," the Rev. E. Husband writes:—"From the paragraph which has appeared concerning my sermon at Folkestone on Sunday night, upon the subject of Mr. Tooth's imprisonment, it would certainly be thought that I advocated disestablishment because of the present troubles in the Church of England. Permit me to say that I strongly deprecated the idea of connecting disestablishment with the present afflictions of the Church, except so far as is stated in the following passage, which is a quotation from a letter which I received last week from an influential clergyman of our Church:—"I do not mean to say that we may not use the manifest tyranny which, through the State, has been exercised against us; only let that be quite subsidiary to the fact that the Church is 'not of this world,' and that therefore her worldly dignities and wealth are her greatest hindrance."

**THE POPE AND HIS CAMARILLA.**—The *Italia* publishes some interesting information (if it be true) as to the present state of affairs in the Vatican. The Pope is now entirely in the hands of Cardinal Bilio and the new vicar general, Cardinal Monaco La Valletta. Cardinal Bilio, who is the author of the Syllabus, wishes the Pope to disregard the rules for the summoning of conclaves, and to designate either himself or Cardinal Monaco as his successor in the Holy See. They urge in justification of this extreme measure the critical position of the Church, and they are preparing a series of uncompromising decrees against science, society, and the State. The thunders of the Vatican are to be first directed against Italy and Germany; and in order to secure unconditional obedience on the part



of the clergy in the attack which is to be made on the civil power, only such bishops will have their appointments confirmed by the Pope as can be relied upon to support the Curia under all circumstances. "Blind obedience and unswerving unity of action," is to be in future the motto of the Church.

**MR. CHAMBERLAIN AND THE REVENUE OF THE ESTABLISHED CHURCH.**—Mr. Chamberlain, M.P., having been asked by Dr. Lee, of the Church Defence Institution, on what grounds he estimates the revenue of the Church at 10,000,000*l.* per annum, replied:—"Any estimate of Church property is necessarily rough, as Parliament has hitherto refused to grant an application for accurate particulars, but the amount of 40,000,000*l.* was accepted by Mr. Thomas Hughes some time ago, when speaking in the defence of the Church in the House of Commons. The sum, however, includes not merely the value of the benefices, &c., which are believed to be very much understated in the Clergy List, but also the annual value of bishops' palaces, deaneries, parsonages, and parish churches. The total capitalised value is certainly over 200,000,000*l.*, but how much of this would in any case fairly be retained by the nation, and how much may belong to private individuals, who have voluntarily contributed the cost, is a question of great importance, and which requires more detailed examination than I can give in the space of a letter."

**IRISH UNIVERSITY EDUCATION.**—Letters have been received at Rome announcing a very important change in the attitude of the Irish Catholic bishops in the matter of University education requiring, however, the assent of the Holy See, from which specific authorisation was given for the establishment of an exclusive and independent University for Catholics in Ireland. It appears that more than a year ago some of the Catholic laity, dissatisfied with the state of the question, resolved to take action independently of the bishops, and formed a committee, comprising graduates of Trinity College, the Queen's University, and the Catholic University, to prepare the heads of a bill on Irish University education. Mr. Butt was prevailed upon to assume the charge of the question and to draft the bill. The dissatisfaction of some of the leading prelates was very strong, inasmuch as Mr. Butt's bill gave up the idea of a separate University for Catholics, and proposed one national University for all Ireland, in which the Catholics would have a college, the Protestants retaining Trinity College, and one of the Queen's Colleges being given to the Secular system. Eventually a meeting was arranged about a week ago between certain of the prelates and Mr. Butt and other Irish members, when the policy of accepting Mr. Butt's scheme was fully discussed. Some modifications of its details were made, and the decision of the Catholic bishops was promised to be given before the opening of Parliament. It is now stated that they have decided, subject to the approbation of the Holy See, to give up the demand for a charter for the Catholic University of Ireland, and to accept the arrangement proposed by the Lay Committee and Mr. Butt. [Very good of them!]

**A DESPAIRING APPEAL TO HIGH-CHURCHMEN.**—In the turmoil which has been raised, law, order, veneration for constituted authority, whether in Church or State, are rudely set at open defiance, and we do not hesitate to say it—are in imminent peril. It is quite within the power of the great party we allude to, without the surrender of one iota of their cherished prejudices, to make their voices conspicuously and distinctly heard. If this were done with unmistakable sincerity, it would go a long way to compose the differences which cause Churchmen to hold aloof from each other, and would effectually quell the extravagances which are making Christianity a mockery and a bye-word. Hitherto, however, the attitude of High-Churchmen towards these excesses has been uncertain and mystifying; no one can clearly say how far they sympathise with the guerilla warfare which is being waged; nay, whether they do not expect to make some profit out of it. Even gain may, in some cases, be too dearly purchased. While, however, there is no clear disavowal and authoritative condemnation by High-Churchmen of what a Romish bishop stigmatises as "rejection of all authority," and no prospect of restraining it by their counsels, there is no alternative but appeal to the broken law to vindicate its own authority. As for union with High-Churchmen, while the whole tendency of the school is to condone and to extenuate transgressions of the law by ultra-fanatics, it is simply a chimera. We say it with much sorrow, but when we see the Bishop of Lincoln standing alone in vindication of law and order, with ominous silence on the part of all around him, we despair of aught but perseverance in the unwelcome duty devolving upon those who do feel that Church and nation may both be alike ultimately endangered by unrestrained disorder and furious excess.—*Record of Monday.*

**THE BURIALS QUESTION.**—The following address has been presented to the Archbishop of Canterbury, signed by several of the clergy, amongst whom are the Deans of Norwich and Winchester, Archdeacons Grant, St. John Mildmay, Lord Alwyne, Compton, Tarey, Cust, North, Jacob, Hoffer, Nevile, Bouverie, Blakeloch, Grome, Bathurst, Thicknel, and Woolcombe; Canons Rawlinson, Gregory, Heartley, Tristram, Clements, Gibson, W. H. Ridley, Hinds, Howell, Ryle, Eden, Sir F. Gore, Ouseley, &c.:—

To His Grace the Archbishop of Canterbury, Primate of all England and metropolitan.

We, the undersigned clergy of the Church of Eng-

land, desire respectfully to represent to your grace that in our opinion the only just, safe, and conciliatory way of terminating the agitation on the burials question, preserving the rights and respecting the consciences and religious feelings of Churchmen, and at the same time removing the real or supposed grievances of conscientious Nonconformists, lies in the closing of all or a very large proportion of our existing churchyards, excepting vaults not yet filled and new ground lately added to any churchyard. With a view to provide new ground for the burial of the dead, we humbly suggest that:—

1. Every facility should be given to the owners of land, whether entailed or glebe, freehold or copyhold, to give or to sell land for this purpose to the extent of one-half to one acre of land for every 500 of population.

2. That such new land should be detached from any existing churchyard, and that a part of it should remain unconsecrated.

3. That every provision should be made to reduce the expense of this change, especially by requiring that no wall or building be erected as a *sine qua non*.

4. Also that adjoining parishes should be allowed to combine for this purpose.

We respectfully and earnestly request your graces' careful consideration of these several facts and suggestions, and that they may by you be laid before the Government prior to the next session of Parliament, and the drafting of the Burial Bill, which it is expected they will introduce, and we beg to remain your graces' faithful and obedient servants.

The Primate, in acknowledging the receipt of this address, thanks the signers for their endeavours "to suggest a solution of this much-vexed question in a kindly and conciliatory spirit."

## Religious and Denominational News.

The Rev. T. Bagley, who for the last four years has been pastor of the Independent Chapel at Banbury has (says the local *Guardian*) resigned, and accepted a call to Peterborough. Mr. Bagley's pastorate has been characterised by much energy and ability, and he leaves Banbury amidst the general regret of his congregation.

**CLAREMONT CHAPEL, PENTONVILLE.**—The Rev. John Jones has been presented by friends at Claremont Chapel, Pentonville, London, with the following gifts—viz., by the Young Ladies' Bible-class, an elegant album with portraits; by the Young Men's Association, twenty volumes of valuable works; and by members of the congregation, with a splendid timepiece; while Mrs. Jones and the children have received other valuable presents.

**CHRISTIAN UNITY.**—There seems to have been at Hanley on Sunday afternoon a pleasing illustration of the substantial unity which now exists among the Nonconformist churches of the land, for we read that Wesleyans, New Connexion Methodists, Primitive Methodists, Independents, Presbyterians, and Baptists met together to celebrate the Lord's Supper. We may therefore assume that whatever differences of opinion still exist among these denominations on other points of doctrine, and that while each cherishes its own peculiar form of Church government, there is no difference between them on that one subject which so grievously disturbs and divides their brethren of the church of England. They have attained to that unity which alone is worth striving for—"the unity of the spirit in the bond of peace."

**RYDE, ISLE OF WIGHT.**—The annual social meeting of the George-street Church was held on Thursday, Jan. 25. Nearly five hundred members of the church and congregation assembled on the occasion. The pastor, the Rev. T. Hooke, presided. In the course of his address he alluded to the way in which the climate of the island had affected him, expressing the hope that he might yet find it such as would be beneficial to his health; hitherto it had not been so beneficial as he had anticipated on leaving Essex. From the secretary's annual statement it appeared that all the societies and organisations were in vigorous and successful operation, and between 1,200*l.* and 1,300*l.* had been contributed by the church during the past year. The remaining debt on the chapel, it was announced, would be cleared by a bazaar to be held in the month of August, when so many Congregationalist families visit the island.

**MELBOURNE, AUSTRALIA.**—The Collins-street Independent Church, of which the late Rev. A. M. Henderson was pastor, acting through a committee in London, has secured the services of the Rev. Thomas Jones, of Swansea, who will probably leave these shores about the end of March to enter upon that most important colonial pastorate. The people of Melbourne are to be congratulated upon this transfer to their city of one of our greatest preachers. Medical opinions suggest the probability that in that bright and stimulating climate, Mr. Jones will renew his strength, and attain a fulness of power such as could not be hoped for in England, and in a land of perfect religious freedom there will be no artificial restraints and hindrances such as check the highest results of such a ministry where there is a State Church. Since 1871, when Mr. Jones was Chairman of the Congregational Union of England and Wales, he has been but rarely heard in London, but the fame of his ministry at Albany Chapel and at Bedford New Town and the good work he has done in the comparative retirement of Swansea, will never be forgotten, and doubtless will excite great expectations in Melbourne.

**CHURCH MISSIONS.**—During the past week special missions have been held every day at

Bristol and Manchester, under the auspices of the respective bishops of the dioceses, at which services have been held in most of the churches, and "missionaries" preached. In both places there have been difficulties arising from religious differences among the clergy, which have been, however, overcome, though some of the Evangelicals of Bristol, such as Canon Girdleston, held aloof from the movement. Both prelates have taken an active personal part in the mission, and in the course of a closing sermon on Sunday night Bishop Fraser expressed a decided opinion that this religious movement had effected much good. The churches had been filled, and the whole city was more or less moved. "There had seemed to be a sort of stillness in the air—men and women seemed to be more thoughtful and more serious, as though thoughts deeper than ordinary thoughts and interests more anxious than common interests were occupying their minds." The Bishop of Winchester opened a series of special mission services at Bournemouth on Saturday. In his address he cautioned the clergy especially against the danger of religious excitement and self-adoration, and said that, while lamenting the unhappy divisions in the Church, there was some palliation in the fact that they were the outcome of religious zeal.

**HIGHGATE-ROAD CHAPEL.**—This fine place of worship erected in the Grove, Highgate-road, at a cost of about 6,200*l.*, was opened on Thursday. The proceedings commenced at noon with Divine service. There was a crowded congregation, and the Rev. Dr. Landels, Regent's-park Chapel, preached the opening sermon. The Rev. J. P. Chown, of Bloomsbury Chapel, and the Rev. Archibald Brown, of the East-end Tabernacle, also took part in the service. The Rev. Francis Tucker, B.A., of Camden-road Chapel, preached in the evening to a crowded congregation. Between the services a meeting was held in the schoolroom of Camden-road Chapel, under the presidency of Mr. James Benham, which was well attended by ministers and friends of the cause from many of the chapels of the denomination in various parts of London. Mr. James Coreter, of the Grove, Highgate-road, initiated the movement for building this chapel by generously presenting a freehold site, worth 1,200*l.*, to the London Baptist Association, in addition to subscribing liberally to the building fund. The London Baptist Association contributed 1,500*l.* towards the cost of the building, which has been supplemented by liberal amounts from friends of the Baptist cause. The new building will accommodate 534 persons on the ground-floor, and 326 in the galleries. The style is the Gothic of the Early Decorated period. In the rear of the chapel are three vestries, for minister, deacons, and ladies, and two lavatories, with chapel-keeper's rooms, in basement. A superior, richly-tuned organ (by Jones, of Fulham-road), embodying the latest improvements, has been erected in the back gallery, from the design of the architects, Messrs. Satchell and Edwards, of 37, Norfolk-street, Strand.

**BISHOP FRASER ON STAGE DECORUM.**—On Friday the Bishop of Manchester, in connection with the Church of England mission in that city, addressed the members of the theatrical profession from the stages of the Theatre Royal and the Prince's Theatre. On both occasions the actors, members of the ballet, and subordinates were present in large numbers. The bishop, after a short service at the Theatre Royal, addressed the company at some length. He adverted to St. Paul being advised not to adventure himself into a theatre, and said he (the Bishop of Manchester) was the first bishop of the Church of England, if not the first bishop of the Christian Church, who had ever addressed a congregation in a theatre. He then remarked upon the proper dignity of the acting profession, and observed that the Puritan attempt to abolish theatres altogether was followed by a violent reaction in the shape of the immoral plays of the Restoration. On this head he quoted an article from the *Theatre* on stage decorum, to show that we are not very much better than our ancestors, and that the immorality which then assailed the ear now tempts the eye. He did not want to abolish the theatre, but to purify it and make it a harmless instrument of recreation. With such illustrious names as Macready, Charles Kean, and Miss Helen Faucit before him he did not think the stage should necessarily be degraded. Afterwards the bishop spoke at the Prince's Theatre much in the same strain, on the evils and allurements of the ballet. He said there was a time to be serious, and he asked them to remember, whatever parts they played in the dramas that were enacted, that they had to play a part in the great drama of life, and that the King of kings, whom they served, was watching every play, and every bad thought or light word which escaped their lips, and he hoped they would do nothing, and would not be called upon to do anything, that would corrupt or imperil the souls of their fellow-women or fellow-men. The hymn, "Rock of Ages," was sung at the conclusion of the bishop's address, and, his lordship having pronounced the benediction, the audience dispersed. At both houses many of those present appeared to be deeply affected.

**WATFORD.**—The committee of the Herts Congregational Association, after having under their consideration for some time the desirableness of establishing a Congregational church in Watford, the most populous town in their county, commenced religious services in the Corn Exchange in December, 1875. A number of the county pastors rendered valuable assistance to the movement by



their personal ministrations, which were followed by those of the Rev. J. T. Feaston, of Brighton, and the Rev. J. C. Gallaway, secretary of the English Congregational Chapel Building Society. In November last the Rev. Alfred Cave, B.A., was earnestly requested by the County Association to give ministerial oversight to the little congregation that had been gathered, and accepted a charge involving much anxious labour. Since Mr. Cave entered on his ministry at Watford, the attendance at the services has greatly increased, a church has been formed, and a Sunday-school commenced. On Thursday last a public meeting was held in the Corn Exchange for the inauguration of the church and the recognition of the first pastor. The hall of the Exchange was filled. The devotional service was conducted by the secretary of the County Association, the Rev. T. Hill, of Finchley. After an explanation of the origin and course of the movement by the Rev. J. C. Gallaway, M.A., who presided, an address on Free-Church principles was given by the Rev. W. M. Statham, of Hare-court Chapel. The Rev. Samuel Newth, M.A., D.D., President of New College, delivered an address to the pastor, and the Rev. William Cuthbertson, B.A., of Bishop's Stortford, addressed the newly-formed church. The Rev. W. L. Brown, M.A., of Totteridge, J. Basley, of Bushey, and James Menzies, of Berkhamstead, assisted in the service. It was gratifying to hear the hearty words of welcome to Mr. Cave as Congregational pastor in Watford, spoken by the Rev. F. W. Goadby, M.A., and Rev. R. Anderson, respectively the Baptist and Wesleyan ministers in the town. Thus commenced a pastorate which, should Mr. Cave's health and labours continue, has the promise of much usefulness in a large town hitherto without a Congregational church. A noble site for a new church, in the Clarendon-road, has been purchased with the aid of the English Congregational Chapel Building Society, at a cost of about 480*l.*, and a substantial introductory building, to be afterwards used for schools, will be commenced early in the spring.

CLIFTON.—On Jan. 31 the foundation-stone of the new Congregational Chapel, which is to replace the iron chapel formerly standing on the same site in Pembroke-road, was laid by Mr. T. Rowley Hill, M.P. for Worcester. The new place of worship is intended to seat about 500 persons; and underneath it will be a schoolroom sixteen feet high, and capable of accommodating nearly 300 children. Owing to the heavy nature of the excavations, the cost, which was at the first estimated at a little over 4,000*l.*, will in all probability reach 6,000*l.*, of which, up to the time of laying the stone, about 4,500*l.* had been received; but this was increased to nearly 5,000*l.* before the proceedings concluded. A goodly company was present at the ceremony last Wednesday. The devotional service was conducted by the Revs. Urijah Thomas and P. Rutherford, after which the Rev. L. H. Byrnes (the pastor) made a brief statement embodying the above facts and others, and Mr. Hill was presented with a silver trowel, and a mallet of oak taken from one of the ancient houses in Bristol, and believed to be 500 years old. The trowel bore the following inscription:—"Presented to T. Rowley Hill, Esq., M.P., on the occasion of the laying of the foundation-stone of Pembroke Chapel, Clifton, Jan. 31, 1877." Mr. Hill having made a suitable address, the Rev. G. Wood offered a concluding prayer. Then donations were deposited on the stone to the amount of 150*l.* After the ceremony, upwards of 100 of the ministers, members of the congregation, and friends sat down to a luncheon at the Victoria-rooms, under the presidency of the Rev. L. H. Byrnes. In the course of the proceedings the Rev. H. Arnold Thomas (son of the late Rev. David Thomas, who was introduced by the chairman as a representative of Cambridge University as well as Nonconformity), moved a cordial vote of thanks to Mr. Rowley Hill, M.P., for his kindness, and the satisfactory manner in which he had laid the corner stone of the new Pembroke Chapel. (Cheers.) After paying a compliment to Mr. Hill, he expressed, on behalf of himself and congregation, the most hearty sympathy with the Rev. L. H. Byrnes and the people gathered round him in the arduous and most honourable work in which they were engaged, and sincerely trusted that that work ere long would be conducted to a most successful issue. (Applause.) The Rev. U. Thomas, in seconding the motion, said it was a happy sign of the sisterhood of the Congregational, Baptist, and Presbyterian churches that so many of their ministers were able to be present upon that occasion. (Cheers.) With all their hearts did they wish godspeed to the work which that day had entered upon a new stage. They trusted that a large congregation would gather round Mr. Byrnes. Mr. Hill, in responding, thanked them heartily for the kindness with which they had received him, and hoped that a rich blessing would attend the work, and that they would have cause to bless God for their having taken part in that service. (Applause.) The Rev. J. Penny also offered a few remarks, referred to the chairman as one who was full of kindness and friendship towards other denominations as well as his own, and speaking on the part of his absent brethren he said there was no Baptist minister amongst them who was held in higher esteem and affection than was Mr. Byrnes. (Applause.) Congratulatory speeches were also made by the Rev. P. Rutherford, Mr. Samuel Wills, the Rev. N. T. Langridge, and others.

GALLOWTREE-GATE CHAPEL, LEICESTER.—On Sunday the Rev. A. Mackennal, B.A., who

has accepted the pastorate of Bowdon Congregational Church, preached his farewell sermons in Gallowtree-gate Chapel, Leicester, to crowded congregations. On the following Tuesday the annual meeting of the congregation was held in the schoolroom, which was crowded on the occasion, the pastor presiding. A satisfactory financial report was read by Alderman George Baines, Alderman Chambers described the condition of the Sunday-schools, and Mr. Whitten (minister of Sanvy-gate) presented a report of the Sanvy-gate Mission Hall, from which it may be concluded that the work is in a very favourable condition. The most important event of the evening, however, was the presentation to the Rev. A. Mackennal, of a splendid and elaborately-designed epergne and fruit stands; a mercurial standard barometer, with Kew verification, prismatic compass, and pocket polarising apparatus; while to Mrs. Mackennal was given a handsome and valuable work-table. The presentation was made by Alderman G. Baines, who said it had been their privilege to sit under Mr. Mackennal's ministry for the last six-and-a-half years. By the good providence of God, Mr. Mackennal had been invited to another sphere of labour, and they felt that they could not allow him to depart without giving some tangible expression of their affection—though very inadequately expressed—towards him and his excellent wife. After some reference to Mr. Mackennal's scientific pursuits in connection with one of the gifts, Mr. Baines, in the name of every member of the congregation, expressed the deep regret they all felt at the severance. It might be there would be a sphere of labour at Bowdon which would be greater than that which Mr. Mackennal occupied in Leicester. Their hearts' desire and prayer was that the blessing of God might go with him and his good wife and children, and that they might be an abundant blessing to the church that invited him so freely. Mr. Mackennal said he could not fittingly respond to that kind and handsome testimonial of the affection and esteem which they had asked him to take away from Leicester. He could only say that he accepted it, and also speaking for his wife, with as frank and kindly an affection as with which they offered it. He had been too nearly and intimately associated with them to need any special remembrance of their life and work in Leicester, and while he could not but say he was glad that there would be memorials in his house of his association with them, and as the last expression which they had made of their feelings with reference to it, none of those things, as they knew, could buy affection or repay affection. Mr. Baines had referred to the scientific work he had been connected with in the town, and he was happy they were remembering other associations besides the association he had with them. His study of science had served to illustrate the works of God, and to expand his heart and mind to a fuller adoration of Him. He found rest in the pursuit of his studies of the unmoved and cold realities of science, and he was very glad that they had chosen to make some sort of reference to that in the gift presented to him that night. He would take the opportunity of mentioning that the members of his Bible-class had remembered his services and associations with them in a handsome manner, having presented him with a couple of volumes, which formed a valuable addition to his library. He concluded by saying they were loading him with kindness, and he was very grateful to them.

### Correspondence.

#### THE LIBERAL PARTY AND DISESTABLISHMENT.

To the Editor of the Nonconformist.

DEAR SIR,—Your subscribers have, I feel sure, read with great sympathy and zest the articles which have appeared in your last three numbers on the Liberal party and disestablishment. I regard the appearance of these articles as most opportune. That the question of disestablishment has, from a variety of causes, made great and unexampled progress during the past three years cannot be doubted by any observer of political and ecclesiastical events; and it is most important that the convictions which have matured in the public mind shall not, at the next general election, fail to find corresponding expression in Parliament, through any neglect of suitable means to that end on the part of the friends of the movement. It is possible that the present Parliament may complete its full term of service. It is more likely that, as a piece of tactics, occasion will be sought and found to appeal to the country at an earlier period on some question which it is hoped may confirm the present Government in office. But, independent of both the will and the wish of the Government, an unexpected and very early dissolution may be necessitated by the course of events. Be the election near or far off, it ought not to find the friends of disestablishment unprepared, and the question what position they are to take up with regard to the Parliamentary representation of their principles cannot be too soon considered in each constituency.

I am in complete accord with you as to the method of procedure necessary. For, no matter how weighty may be the claims which the cause of disestablishment has on the attention of Liberal statesmen on the score of reason and of consistency with their professions, it is only as these claims are enforced through the constituencies on their representatives, that we can hope they will secure the adhesion of the leaders of the party. The battle will, as you say, have to be fought in the committee-room rather than in the polling-booth. We have, or ought to have, passed beyond that stage of progress, when it was important to secure the declaration in our favour of some of the larger constituencies. The moral right which this adhesion to our cause gives, has been secured. We have now to consider our numerical strength in Parliament as affected by each individual constituency. The principle of religious equality is accepted almost universally amongst Liberals, and few candidates present themselves on the Liberal side without declaring for it. But between the verbal acceptance of a principle and resolute adherence to it, there may be a wide interval, especially on the part of a Parliamentary candidate. And to escape the misrepresentation of pretenders and adventurers, it is needful to have a voice, and the opportunity of exercising influence at the first stage of electoral proceedings. To take part, therefore, in the political organisation of each locality, and not merely in the general diffusion of sound principles, appears to be a necessity and a duty on the part of the friends of disestablishment.

The subject is undoubtedly one of some complexity, arising out of the variety of circumstances in the several constituencies, small boroughs, large boroughs, and counties; and some discussion on the best methods of procedure might be useful, either in your columns or elsewhere. I note you suggest that at the coming Liberation Conference in May next a series of oral reports from the delegates, bearing upon electoral action already taken in the several constituencies, would be the most useful and telling part of the proceedings. This hint is worth consideration. For, although the Conference cannot determine what action the constituencies shall take, the majority of those constituting it will, I judge, be men active in their own localities, and to whom information as to what is doing elsewhere, and how it is being done, might prove truly valuable.

Yours faithfully,

London, Feb. 5, 1877.

P. C.

#### THE RIGHTS OF RATEPAYERS IN RURAL PARISHES.

To the Editor of the Nonconformist.

SIR,—At a school board contest some years ago, in the parish where I reside, the promoters of the board greatly increased their majority by insisting that all "householders," whether they were "rate-payers" themselves or not, were entitled to vote. This has in some quarters been called in question in after years, especially by Conservative returning officers. By a paragraph in yesterday's *Nonconformist* (Jan. 31), headed "A Rural Clergyman defeated," page 113, my mind has again been led to the question; and it seems to me you will be doing great service to the Liberal cause by calling attention to the state of the law in this matter. The writer in the paragraph alluded to (which, I see, is quoted from the *Echo*), seems under the impression that there is a recent "Act" on the matter. I am not sure of this; but there is either a recent Act or a recent decision by one of the judges, which is of vital importance in rural districts in all parish contests, as by it every householder, though the rates are not paid directly by himself, can claim a vote. In Wales, I am confident this will be a vast gain. And as there are so many school board elections likely to take place during the coming year, it will be just in time, if you will kindly call the attention of your readers to the subject, giving them also the exact state of the law in such cases.

I am Sir, yours obediently,

Feb. 1, 1877.

WELSHMAN.

[In the case referred to, the county court judge said distinctly:—"Every parishioner had a common law right to nominate, or second, or vote for a churchwarden; and as the defendant's conduct was calculated to put an end to that right, it could not be otherwise described than as exceedingly reprehensible." The Education Act of 1870, however, provides that, in boroughs, school boards shall be elected by the burgesses and in parishes by the rate-payers. The rate made more than a month previous to the election constitutes the register.—ED. *Noncon.*]



## THE LICENSING QUESTION.

To the Editor of the Nonconformist.

SIR,—Will you allow me space for a further examination of the schemes put forward on the above subject, and to express some views which are partly the result of personal observation?

The social question of the century is the licensing question. At first it was deemed the hobby of social reformers, but as the intensity of the evil became aggravated by efforts for its amelioration, such as the promoters of the Beerhouse Act had in view, the intensity of the evil of drunkenness has increasingly drawn the attention of politicians and statesmen to it. And their deliverances, and the measures that have been brought forward either as palliatives of the evil or as solutions of the problem, have been most diverse and even contradictory. This cannot be better shown than by contrasting the suggestions of two Parliament Committees—both since the era of the great Reform Bill.

The first—Mr. Silk Buckingham's committee—urged that a series of social remedies should be adopted; that the promotion of public parks and museums, etc., should be supported; and so far as they favoured legislation, the suggestions were of a directly restrictive tendency. But from a committee twenty years later, there was a recommendation practically in favour of free-trade in licensing qualified only by a heavy licence duty. At the present time the measures before the country have a more limited scope, but they are almost as diverse in range. What is called the "Gothenburg system" is favoured; Mr. Cowen proposes to transfer the power of the magistrates to the elective boards; and Sir Wilfrid Lawson wishes to give to the ratepayers a veto power over the issue of licences. It must be at once conceded that the latter two are incomplete. If a veto power were given to the ratepayers, unless they exercised that power in its only mode of sweeping away all sale of intoxicants, the present admittedly ill condition of affairs would continue; and though Mr. Cowen's measure would be imperially operative, it must be seen that the transfer of power would not alter the conditions of licences. The scheme promoted by Mr. Chamberlain, M.P., is more complete, but its faults are also more manifest. In view of these varying proposals, it may not be inexpedient to consider a little at length the licensing question.

It may be said, in spite of Mr. Lowe's recent deliverance, that for some time the idea of free trade in drink has been given up, largely through its working at Liverpool; and that, although there are general demands for a revision of the licensing system, there is no unanimity of public feeling as to the basis on which that reform should be carried out. And there is one most notable fact observable—that whilst public discussion is going on, and possible unanimity of sentiment may be in course of evolution, the great hindrance to any effectual dealing with the subject is being indefinitely increased. The great obstacle to the passing even of the Permissive Bill, arises from the mass of vested interests it would deal with; the chief objection to Mr. Cowen's measure arises, not from those whose power it proposes to transfer, but from those whose interests might be affected by the transfer; and the Gothenburg system has this objection, and the further one, that the vastness of the vested interests in public-house property is the chief obstacle to its working here so well as in Sweden. There have been one or two attempts to define the number of necessary licences, officially or in proposed enactments. Mr. Bruce, in his elaborate licensing measure, attempted to define it; and more recently a similar attempt was made for Scotland by Sir R. Anstruther, with the approval of the present Home Secretary. Substantially, these have taken as the basis the proportion of one public to every thousand of the population; and if the number of public-houses be taken nationally, or in almost every large area, it will be found to be much in excess of this proportion. This proportion is, however, being continually increased, by the occasional granting of public-house and beer-house licences by magistrates, and by the granting, without their option, of certain wine and beer licences. Not only is there a continual growth in a proportion of places for the sale of intoxicants already larger than needful, but there is a tolerably full volume of national outcry for the reform of the system. There are measures affecting it brought forward yearly; the "trade is harassed continually"; licence-holders are dissatisfied with the conditions of some of their conditions; the public generally is inclining more and more, under the pressure of taxation, partially drink-created, to

swell the increasing cry of the temperance section for a measure which shall settle the licensing question for a generation, and in a mode more in the interests of the public and less in the interests of the publican. The inevitable preliminary to this is the stoppage of the granting of new licences of any description. In some of our large towns they are threefold what has been stated as the proportion deemed desirable, and their number is the chief bar to the passing of a satisfactory measure. Hence, as in the case of other interests proposed to be dealt with by legislative enactment, suspension of the granting of licences is the inevitable preliminary to dealing with the question.

First, as to the principle on which any amendment of the licensing system should be made—prohibitory or restrictive. And here it may be pointed out that there has been no lengthened and successful trial on a large scale of a prohibitory policy. In America there have been partial attempts, with an unquestionable benefit in certain States; in Sweden, at various periods, a year or two of prohibition has alternated between years of a policy almost the opposite; and in our own country there are parishes and villages, such as Saltaire, where the sale of drink is vetoed by the will of the owners. But generally, it must be evident that there is no preparedness of public feeling for this state of prohibition, and it is undoubted that such a vetoing of the sale would be at present impossible in our large towns. On the other hand, a restrictive policy has been general in Britain; and the adoption of strict and even severe restrictive laws in Sweden and Norway, within the last quarter of a century, have been productive of incalculable benefit to those countries—a benefit in comparison with which that arising to the town of Gothenburg from its addendum to the general law sinks into comparative insignificance. Looking to the absence of precedent for general prohibition, to the want of a sustained demand for it nationally, and to the fact that if its partial adoption at the will of the ratepayers were conceded, there would still remain the need for restriction outside the bounds of such adoption, it must be felt that there is a need for the fighting of the battle at present on the old lines of restriction. It may be desirable to concede to local option the arrangement of some of the details—such as, perhaps, the definition of the exact proportion of public-houses, so long as it did not exceed a certain maximum to be imperially defined.

This brings me to consider the question of the executive to which the carrying out of the principle should be entrusted. It is admitted that an irresponsible magistracy, nominated for political services largely, and having the decision as to breakages of the law, is scarcely a fitting body to continue entrusted with the granting of licences, for whose refusal or non-refusal it is practically responsible to no one. It is notable that, alike in Norway and in Sweden, under different laws passed at various times, the decision as to the number of licences is severed from the decision as to the persons to hold them. When, in Scandinavia, the local authorities have decided how many licences are to be allotted to a district, these licences are sold by tender or auction to the highest bidder for allotted periods. And thus, at once, there is swept away not only all the mass of vested interests in the licences which with us interposes so strong a mass of worse than inert matter between those who would deal with the question, but there is also removed the possibility of the granting of licences upon other than public grounds. As to whether town councils or specially-elected boards should become the executive, it may be remarked that of recent years Parliament has growingly expressed the opinion that the former should have their powers increased over dangerous trades; and there is in response a feeling arising that the multiplication of public bodies is a source of weakness rather than strength, and it is probable that these two impressions will influence future legislation. But in whichever of these channels the stream of public sentiment guides future legislation, there is no doubt but that such a change would be most beneficial, in the separation of the determiner of the licensee from the punisher of the licence-infringer.

There should be bounds to the extent to which the chosen authority should exercise the option; but the chosen authority should not be permissively chosen. One of the evils of permissive legislation—which some consider to be its recommendation—is its weakness, and it has the disadvantage of introducing variety even sometimes to a conflicting of principle. It may be remarked here that the Gothenburg experiment is the fruit of a permissive clause, but that the system

which has worked so admirably in Sweden generally is imperial in its scope. And with us it would be most unadvisable to merely allow local authorities to take upon themselves the responsible task of dealing with the licensing system—for this would merely place power in the hands of a very few towns and parishes—whereas what is needed is that the ratepayers who have to bear the burden of the results of the drink traffic should, through their representatives, decide as to the number of places deemed necessary for sale, within limits which on the one hand should serve public convenience, and on the other guard against an excessive use of restrictory power. Again, the conditions of licence should in principle be imperially defined, and here simplicity is needed. At present the number of kinds of licence, the varying conditions of sale, and the equally varying hours of sale, create public and even legal confusion. Whilst we are probably unprepared to adopt the plan of the Swedes, and regulate the amount payable under the licence by the amount of liquor sold, it would appear to be desirable that only one class of licence should be granted, and that this should in some way vary in a measure according to the assumed use made thereof. In like manner the maximum hours of sale should be imperially defined, and in justice to the holders of licences, conditions, such as billeting, should apply equally to all instead of partially to one or two classes.

On some such basis as this the licensing problem might be solved. The need for a solution yearly grows—for, on the one hand, the amount of capital invested in the trade is too large to allow a continuance of the present uncertainty in regard to its future; and, on the other, the evils incidental to, or flowing from, the misuse of facilities created under the licensing system are becoming "gross as a mountain." On all hands the need for a settlement on a basis that shall last for a generation is admitted, and whilst the tone of the public feeling is far from being raised to such a pitch as would make prohibition on even a partial scale practicable, it is sufficiently high to require and even to demand a great restriction of a trade, which may supply that "warmest welcome at an inn," Shenstone longed for, but which admittedly shelters gross corruption and vast evil.

Yours, &c.,  
J. W. S.

## POLITICAL AND ELECTORAL NEWS.

At the inaugural meeting of the Tranmere Working Men's Liberal Association, held on Friday, a letter from Mr. Gladstone was read, in which he expressed his belief that in the great testing subject of the day, the Eastern Question, the principles of freedom, humanity, and justice had no more firm adherents than the working men of the country.

Mr. Gladstone, who has been spending a few days with the Marquis of Ailesbury, visited Marlborough College on Saturday, and delivered an address to the boys, in which he pointed out the enormous and immeasurable value of time, placed before them their advantages and commensurate responsibilities, congratulated the Marlburians upon the success of the system of training adopted in that institution, reminded the scholars of some of the careers of exertion which would await the pupils when they quitted their college home, and addressed a caution and encouragement to those who would become religious teachers, asking them not to allow themselves to be depressed by the trials and difficulties they would probably have to meet. To those who would perhaps become politicians he remarked that, although hard things were sometimes said that were not deserved, the people of the country were, on the whole, generous-hearted, and delighted to honour any man who had striven to serve them well. After the proceedings at the college Mr. Gladstone drove to the Town Hall, where the Odd Fellows and Foresters presented him with an address, to which the right hon. gentleman replied.

At a great Liberal soiree held at Stroud on Tuesday evening, Mr. Edward A. Freeman was the principal speaker, and devoted his remarks to the Eastern Question. He said he sorely regretted the failure of the Conference, for so many concessions had been made to the Turks that what remained would have been useless. He acknowledged the indebtedness of the nation to Lord Salisbury, who had been better supported by the Liberals than by his own party. He hoped that the Conference would yet bear fruit, and that Turkey would succumb without war. But if it was necessary to use force to compel her to do justice, he recommended that England should join with Russia.

A Liberal banquet was held in Newcastle-on-Tyne on Friday, after which a public meeting was held in the Town Hall, which was well filled. Letters of apology were read from Earl Durham, Mr. Gladstone, M.P., Mr. Lowe, M.P., Mr. Burt, M.P., &c., Mr. Gladstone expressed the hope that the meeting



would tend to shape the opinion of the country on the Eastern Question. Mr. Joseph Cowen, M.P., presided, and with respect to the position of the Liberals said a party could not be made out of negatives, and he thought that the Liberal party should have some subject upon which to unite. He did not care whether it was the extension of the franchise in the counties, the Church question (which he would prefer), or the liquor question. He believed the present Government would continue in office until the close of the present Parliament, and he thought it would be better if it were so, as the Liberals would then be united. Mr. Pease, M.P., Sir John Swinburne, Mr. W. H. James, M.P., and Mr. C. M. Palmer, M.P., addressed the meeting on general topics.

There was a great Liberal demonstration at Sheffield on Tuesday evening, the occasion of the annual meeting of the Sheffield Liberal Association. Mr. Robert Leader, president of the association, occupied the chair. The spacious edifice was filled in every part, and the proceedings were characterised by the utmost enthusiasm. Mr. Samuel Morley, M.P., spoke of the value of unity. He knew of at least half-a-dozen seats which were lost at the last election, in 1874, because members of the Liberal party refused to vote for candidates, otherwise admirably adapted to their wants, because they were at variance on some particular point. A remedy was wanted for this weakness, and he knew no better one than the establishment of institutions like the present. (Cheers.) The speaker went on to say:—

I am glad to believe that the recent election of the school board in London has given a tone to the opinion in the country on the subject of education—(Hear, hear)—has strengthened the hands of the managers of school boards in various towns in the kingdom, and is helping us still more rapidly to what I hope will be ultimately a satisfactory solution of that question. (Hear, hear.) I am a thorough believer in the opinion that mischief and no good has ever resulted from legislative attempts to promote the religion of the people. (Hear, hear.) I have not a doubt that the only solution of the difficulties which are crowding fast around us will be found in the legislative separation of civil and religious—(The remainder of the sentence was lost in a burst of applause.) I contend that the question, when we succeed in getting what I ventured to describe in the House of Commons some three or four years ago as a fair Burials Bill, would become a national and not a Nonconformist one, and so long as we have to contend against what we were accustomed to call Nonconformist grievances, I shall go in heart and soul with the Liberation Society, and upon any platform am prepared to contend against the oppression which grew and does grow out of the Established Church. I want to excite public opinion that shall settle that question in the only way which will ever be permanent, and that is by a legislative separation with which the public shall be in accord. I contend that the greatest Liberationist of the present day is the Rev. Mr. Tooth. (Cheers.) My hope is that Mr. Tooth will remain in prison. (Laughter and cheers.) I hope he means to fight it out, because men's minds are being brought to this conclusion. I believe those practices are leading to the Church of Rome, and there are hundreds of men in the Church of England who, if they were really honest men, would go to the Church of Rome.

The hon. member briefly referred to the Eastern Question, and expressed a hope that the Premier would be called to account for his notorious Guildhall speech, a speech which ignored the most pronounced overtures of peace and friendship from the Czar, and which he had no hesitation in saying was a speech of a bully rather than a speech of a statesman. (Loud applause.) Mr. Samuelson, M.P., and Mr. W. H. Leatham having delivered addresses, Mr. Mundella, M.P., spoke at great length. The Government had reached its fourth session, and it had abundant evidence to show that their hold upon the confidence of the people of this country was gradually but surely slipping away. (Applause.) He severely criticised the Indian policy of the Government, and then reviewed the leading incidents in the later phases of the Eastern Question. He complimented Lord Salisbury upon the policy he had pursued in the capacity of English Plenipotentiary at Constantinople, and claimed that the Liberals had supported him. For the future he claimed that they were bound to regard as insufficient the "paper Constitution" of Turkey, and to extract from her satisfactory guarantees.

On Friday night the Right Hon. H. C. E. Childers, M.P., addressed his constituents in the Town Hall, Pontefract, and spoke at length on the Eastern Question, tracing the history of the Turk from his first entry into Europe to the present time. Sharply criticising the conduct of the Government, he said, with reference to Sir Stafford Northcote's recent speeches on the subject of the Conference, that he thought those who accepted the views of the Chancellor of the Exchequer were in a fool's paradise.

The Annual Conference of the Irish Home-Rule Members of Parliament was held on Wednesday in the Council Chamber, City Hall, Dublin. Mr. Butt presided, thirty other Irish members were present, and apologies for absence were received from twelve. Before passing to the business of the day, the conference passed and presented to Mr. Butt a vote of assurance of their devotion to him as the leader of the party. Captain Nolan and Mr. Power were reappointed whips; Mr. Meldon and Dr. Ward were elected secretaries. A long discussion took place as to the policy to be pursued in the coming session, especially as to the Eastern Question, and it was decided "to await the developments which the present critical state of general politics may produce," but, in any event, a motion in favour of Home-Rule is to be brought

on as early as possible. It was also resolved that bills on the land question, University education, intermediate education, the franchise, registration, county boards, amnesty, fisheries, and other questions should be introduced. At a meeting in Dublin, on Friday, the Home-Rulers passed a resolution expressing their unalterable conviction that it is not possible to secure peace and prosperity to Ireland save by the restoration of their native Parliament.

At a Liberal meeting in Marylebone, on Wednesday evening, Mr. D. Grant announced that he, in conjunction with Sir Thomas Chambers, would contest the borough at the next election. He was an unsuccessful candidate in February, 1874.

It is believed at Salford that Mr. Charley will soon vacate his seat by accepting office, which will involve his leaving Parliament.

The friends in the Liberal interest of Colonel Roden have asked him to come forward for the borough of Stoke-upon-Trent at the next vacancy. He has consented to do so. He formerly represented the borough, but was thrown out when Mr. Heath was elected. When Mr. Melly retired, he declined to contest the borough on the ground of ill-health. He is now, however, restored to health.

When the House of Commons assembles tomorrow, the following members will be entitled to take the oaths and their seats:—Mr. Barran, for Leeds; Mr. Wilson for Donegal; the Hon. T. F. Fremantle, for Bucks; the Lord Advocate, for Glasgow and Aberdeen Universities; Captain J. E. Severne, for South Shropshire; Mr. H. B. Samuelson, for Frome; Mr. Leonard Courtney, for Liskeard; Captain King-Harman, for Sligo county; and Mr. Delahunty, for Waterford county. Four of these are Liberals, and five Conservatives. The House is now practically complete, as the vacancy at Norwich is not to be filled during the existence of the present Parliament, while the six seats formerly belonging to the disfranchised boroughs Beverley, Bridgwater, Cashel, and Sligo have not yet been allotted.

### Epitome of News.

The Queen, Princess Beatrice, and Prince Leopold attended Divine service at Osborne on Sunday. The Rev. George Connor officiated.

Her Majesty, accompanied by Princess Beatrice, was to leave Osborne this morning, and was expected at Buckingham Palace about midday. To-morrow afternoon she will open Parliament in person. After the ceremony the Queen is expected to return to Osborne. It is probable that the Court will continue to reside in the Isle of Wight till about the commencement of next month.

The Prince and Princess of Wales and all their household at Marlborough House and Sandringham have been revaccinated.

The Princess Louise on Friday opened a school of Art at Brighton, and the Marquis of Lorne delivered an address on art and science culture.

A Cabinet Council was held on Friday. All the Ministers were present except the Marquis of Salisbury and the Earl of Carnarvon.

Lord Salisbury arrived in London yesterday evening.

The Parliamentary Blue Book on Eastern Affairs, comprising all the documents bearing a date prior to the assembling of the Conference, consists of 800 pages; it will be placed on the table to-morrow (Thursday) evening, and will probably be in the hands of members on Friday morning.

The London correspondent of the *Leeds Mercury* is sorry to hear that Mr. Bright is not likely to be a prominent voice in the coming Parliamentary session. The right hon. gentleman is again in delicate health, and finds it necessary to abstain from everything that might lead to undue excitement.

The Government have, it is announced, resolved to fill up the vacant Chief Justiceship of the Queen's Bench in Ireland by the promotion of the Attorney-General, Mr. May. It is believed that Mr. Gibson, Q.C., will succeed Mr. May.

A house has been taken in Ventnor, called Tweed Mount, by General Tchernayeff, for six months, and he has telegraphed for his wife and family to join him.

Speaking on Thursday at the annual meeting of the Leeds Educational Council, the Right Hon. W. E. Forster, M.P., said it would be a mistake to induce every clever boy in an elementary school to strive to get an exhibition. Boys who received exhibitions should show signs of having a particular faculty for the life either of a scholar or a teacher.

The clergy of Birmingham have had under consideration Mr. Chamberlain's proposal to place the licensing of public-houses under municipal control, and at a meeting held last week, the Rev. Canon Wilkinson presiding, the following resolution was adopted:—"That this meeting, without in any way pledging itself to details, approves of the principle of Mr. Chamberlain's proposal."

At a public meeting of the Home-Rule Leaguers in Dublin on Thursday, Mr. John O'Keefe, M.P. for Dungarvan, was expelled for having supported Mr. Lehmann at the late Waterford county election.

Lady Smith, widow of Sir James E. Smith, F.R.S., and President of the Linnean Society, died on Saturday in her 104th year, she having been born on the 11th of May, 1773, according to the register in Lowestoft parish church. Upon her

100th birthday Lady Smith gave a dinner to all the aged poor in the neighbourhood, and upon the same occasion received from the Queen a copy of "Our Life in the Highlands," with the following inscription in Her Majesty's own writing:—"From Victoria R. to her friend Lady Smith on her birthday."

Mr. Cross, on Friday, received at the Home Office a very influential deputation, which waited on him to present a petition, signed by a large number of persons affected by the Artisans' Dwellings Act, praying the intervention of Government to protect them from wholesale expulsion from their homes during the erection of the new dwellings, and requesting that temporary provision be made for their habitations after the pulling down of their present houses. Sir H. Selwin-Ibbetson, speaking instead of the Home Secretary, said that if anything could be done to oblige the Board of Works to create the buildings by degrees, it would be a most desirable thing.

In consequence of the appearance of cattle plague in London, an order has been issued by the Lords of the Council prohibiting the movement from the metropolis of cattle, sheep, or goats.

Dr. Henry Muirhead, of Bushyhill, Cambuslang, has offered to the University of Glasgow the sum of 2,100*l.* as an endowment of a Demonstratorship of Physiology in connection with the Chair of Institutes of Medicine.

The finishing touch has been given to the gigantic works in the valley of Longdendale, by which Manchester is supplied with water. Those works have been in course of construction about twenty-eight years, and have cost no less a sum than 2,500,000*l.*

Mr. Munton, Dr. Slade's solicitor, telegraphed on Monday from Boulogne:—"Dr. Slade very ill; occasionally unconscious. His friends believe he would hereafter return if Defence Committee wished and counsel advised that his witnesses would be admissible."

The appeal of Monck, the Huddersfield Spiritualist, against the decision of the magistrates sentencing him to three months' imprisonment as a rogue and vagabond, was before the Exchequer Division on Friday. In this, as in Slade's case, it appeared that the words "by palmistry or otherwise" had been omitted from the conviction, and counsel contended that unless Monck was convicted of using "palmistry" or acts *ejusdem generis* he could not be convicted under the Rogue and Vagabond Act. The court, after hearing arguments in support of the conviction, reserved judgment, which was given yesterday. The conviction was affirmed with costs. Application was, however, made for leave to appeal against their decision. The court said they would consider the application.

Details of the effects of the gales and floods have been furnished from all parts of the country. A tide of unusual height visited the East and South-Eastern coasts on Tuesday night; and the Thames overflowed its banks, submerging a considerable portion of the low-lying districts on the Surrey side, causing much distress to the poor, who had the basement-storerooms of their houses flooded, as well as a considerable destruction and damage of property.

The Midland Railway Company is about to make a reform in the mode of lighting their carriages. A trial has been made by the night mail from London to Glasgow, with every success. Instead of the old unsightly and flickering oil-lamps, the new plan uses gas made by a patent process, the reservoirs being in the gas-vans.

Mr. William Pike, late proprietor of the *Derby Reporter*, died suddenly at his residence, at Derby, early on Sunday, at the age of eighty. He was a Liberal in politics, and a consistent Nonconformist, and had been a member of the Victoria-street Congregational Church for many years; to which communion, as well as to many useful and charitable objects, he was a liberal contributor.

Judgment was given by the Irish Court of Exchequer Chamber, on Saturday, in a case in which a lady named Cecilia Mitchell, within three months of her death, had devised all her property, real and personal, to the Most Rev. Dr. Dorrian, Roman Catholic Bishop of Down and Connor, and to his successor in the bishopric, subject to some small bequests to relatives, and a bequest of 2*l.* annually to Dr. Dorrian for the purpose of masses said for the happy repose of her soul. The judges unanimously, though on widely different grounds, decided that the bequests to Dr. Dorrian and his successor were void.

AMERICAN BEEF.—A number of shops have been opened in Edinburgh for the sale of American beef, for which there is a large demand. The prices are as follows:—Boiling beef, 7*d.* to 8*d.* per lb.; stewing, 9*d.* to 10*d.*; best steak, 1*s.* 1*d.*; ditto stewing, 10*d.* to 11*d.*; best roast, 9*d.* to 10*d.* In their weekly reports Messrs. John Swan and Sons, cattle salesmen, Edinburgh, say:—"There have been about 800 quarters of American beef placed between Edinburgh and Glasgow this week, which, profiting by public agitation on the butchers' retail charges, is now quoted in quarters at as nearly as possible the top price of the prime Scotch beef, the best hindquarters of which may be had at 8*d.*, and the forequarters at 6*d.* per lb. Attracted by the novelty of beef at 5*d.* to 8*d.* per lb. wholesale, we see the public competing with the butchers, the result being to equalise the price of American with the home beef, without regard to condition and quality of the latter."



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MINISTERS who have NOT YET REPLIED to the Circular on Intemperance, issued on the 3rd ult., will greatly oblige if they will do so at once.

ALEXANDER RALEIGH, Chairman of Committee

ALEXANDER HANNAY, Secretary.

Memorial Hall, Feb. 7, 1877.

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## TO CORRESPONDENTS.

"G. M. Murphy" and "A. J. Somerville." Next week.

"S. L." Too late.

## The Nonconformist.

WEDNESDAY, FEBRUARY 7, 1877.

## SUMMARY.

THE Parliamentary session which opens tomorrow bids fair to be lively, if it does not result in any marked changes. The promptitude shown by the Government in the production of the voluminous despatches on the Eastern Question will take the edge off the debate upon the Address in reply to the Queen's Speech in both Houses, as the more serious discussion of the subject that will soon follow must, of course, be based upon these papers. It does not seem to be expected that Lord Salisbury, who has now arrived from the continent, will give expression to views divergent from those of the Prime Minister, or other members of the Cabinet, nor that much light will be thrown on the future policy of the Government. To-morrow night's debate will be a dress rehearsal, which will perhaps damp the interest in the set discussion that is to follow, but it will probably define the position of our leading statesmen in relation to this perplexing and complex problem. There is no reason to expect that the Government will, on either occasion, be challenged to a division in either House, or that their adherents will exhibit any lack of discipline, or that the Liberals would be able to go into the lobby as a united party.

Even on the eve of the Session the situation has materially altered, and in such a way as to show the real value of Turkish professions of reform. Midhat Pasha, as we know, elaborated a grand Constitution, which was duly proclaimed under the noses of the Plenipotentiaries, and was to inaugurate a beneficent era for the



Ottoman Empire. Vague reports have been sent to the West of new and trustworthy governors appointed; of provinces divided with a view to the more effectual carrying out of administrative reforms; of the organisation of a disciplined *gendarmérie* on the European model; of judicial changes in the interests of the Christians—and so on. In short, the Grand Vizier was said to be day and night absorbed in the task of making his Constitution a reality. Even so experienced a diplomatist as Lord Stratford de Redcliffe was so struck with his earnestness and resolution as to suggest that the Turkish reforms should have a fair trial, in the hope that something effectual might be done which would stave off European intervention, and arrest the aggressive action of Russia. But Midhat Pasha has already vanished from the scene! The Sultan whom he had hailed as a Constitutional Sovereign has acted like all his predecessors. The Grand Vizier has not only been suddenly dismissed, but shipped off to Syria outside the Turkish dominions, and has been replaced by Edhem Pasha, lately ambassador at Berlin. The sudden disgrace of Midhat Pasha is variously interpreted. The fullest and most reasonable explanation is to the effect that the Sultan and the late Grand Vizier did not agree on the policy of breaking so definitely with the six Powers, and that His Majesty met with persistent opposition from Midhat Pasha in his desire to introduce the foreign element largely into the Turkish administration. At a Council meeting on Sunday afternoon evidence was produced that the Minister was plotting for the overthrow of the Sultan, and that on the same night 3,000 Ulemas were to have gone to the Palace to demand the abdication of Abdul Hamid, and the appointment of Midhat as dictator. The secret having been discovered, the Grand Vizier was placed under arrest, and at once banished from the country in lieu of being tried for high treason. It is of course said that the Constitution will be carried out in its entirety, and with less confidence it is reported that an attempt will be made to renew negotiations with the European Powers. Probably the chances of peace are improved by the disgrace of Midhat Pasha.

The long-talked-of circular despatch of the St. Petersburg Government has at length been published. It represents the Eastern crisis as having entered "upon a new phase." After a description of the results of "a year of diplomatic efforts" by the united Powers of Europe, Prince Gortschakoff says that "the Cabinets again find themselves in the same position as at the commencement of this crisis, which is, however, still further aggravated by the blood that has been shed, the passions that have been raised, and the indefinite prolongation of the deplorable state of things which weighs upon Europe and justly preoccupies public opinion and the Governments." The Russian Chancellor goes on to remark:—

The Porte pays no regard to its former engagements, to its duties as a member of the European Concert, or to the unanimous wishes of the Great Powers. Far from having made a step towards a satisfactory solution of the Eastern Question, the Ottoman Empire has been and remains a permanent menace for the peace of Europe, as well as for the sentiments of humanity and the conscience of the Christian peoples. Under these circumstances, before deciding on the course which he may think right to follow, His Majesty the Emperor wishes to know what course will be determined upon by the Cabinets with whom we have acted up to the present, and with whom we desire, as far as possible, to continue proceeding in common accord. The object which the Great Powers have in view has been clearly defined by the acts of the Conference. The refusal of the Turkish Government touches the dignity and peace of Europe. It is important for us to know what the Cabinets with which we have acted in concert until now intend to do, in order to reply to this refusal and to ensure the execution of their wishes.

What effect the downfall of Midhat Pasha will have upon the general aspect of the Eastern Question remains to be seen. But the St. Petersburg circular bears evidence that Russia is exceedingly anxious to remain in accord with the other Powers, and very reluctant to put her army on the Pruth in motion. A few days will probably throw some real light on the situation. The Porte, notwithstanding the banishment of Midhat Pasha, is pressing for a settlement with Serbia, and has withdrawn the demand for guarantees, beyond a distinct promise on the part of Prince Milan's Government that they would not allow Serbia to be a focus of revolution for the neighbouring Turkish Provinces, or do anything that might foster or encourage such movements. It is thought that the Servian Cabinet will make no difficulty about such a declaration. The Porte has sent a Special Envoy to Belgrade, and if both sides are really in earnest, the three weeks which remain before the expiration of the armistice will suffice to negotiate a permanent peace.

Political meetings—especially Liberal meetings—have been abundant during the past week. Whether they take the shape of demonstrations under the auspices of men of public position, or of the organisation of clubs, they indicate a revival of political feeling. At Newcastle, where there was a banquet and great public meeting, Mr. Cowen, M.P., made a rough classification of parties in the House of Commons, which may just now be worth noting. On the one side are some 350 Conservatives, who vote as one man. On the other side are about 800 members—200 of whom are reckoned moderate Liberals, having no definite creed, who are content with criticism of the Government policy; fifty Radicals, who have too many creeds; and about fifty Home-Rulers, who are the weakness of the Opposition. The hon. member for Newcastle does not expect or desire an early change of Government, but would be glad to see the Liberals rally in support of a suffrage extension or religious-equality policy—himself preferring the latter, though, like Mr. Dale, willing for the present to waive his preference.

The Liberals of Middlesbrough, like those of many other northern towns, have been forming an association, and with a result worthy of attention. At a large public meeting on Monday the programme of the organisation was adopted. Its points were—an assimilation of the county and borough franchise and a redistribution of seats, justice and freedom for the Christian subjects of the Sultan, and a reform of the licensing system. Some Liberals present did not regard the programme as complete, and an additional resolution to the following effect was moved:—"This meeting regards the adoption of the principles of religious equality, including the disestablishment and disendowment of the English and Scotch Established Churches, and the completion of a national unsectarian system of education, as essential to the programme of a Middlesbrough Liberal Association." But such an addition did not at all suit the views of a number of Whig gentlemen, who had been urging the sinking of what they were pleased to call "sectional views," and they actually proposed an amendment for excluding disestablishment as inimical "to the hearty co-operation" of all sections of Liberals. A large majority thought otherwise, and the resolution was carried amid great cheering. We trust this incident will be borne in mind by the friends of religious equality throughout the country. This is by no means a solitary instance of the ripeness of opinion among the rank-and-file of the party for a formal recognition of disestablishment in the Liberal programme. It is high time, as we now see, that they distinctly asserted their claims, unless the question in which they are most interested is to be utterly ignored in the reorganisation of the Liberal party.

The address to the Primæ (given elsewhere), signed by a number of influential clergymen, and suggesting a basis on which the burials grievance might be settled, indicates that the expected Government measure may contain some such provisions. We may not, perhaps, have long to wait for authentic news on the subject. It is only necessary now to hint that any scheme which treats the Church as a distinct sect, and not as a national institution, would be strenuously resisted by all sections of Liberals in the House of Commons.

#### THE GOVERNMENT ON ITS TRIAL.

WHATEVER new political phase the Eastern Question may enter upon, there is fortunately no lack of information to guide the public mind in its judgment of past events or in its broad views of the policy which should hereafter be pursued. On the eve of a new Session of the Imperial Parliament it is natural that politicians should again occupy themselves with reviewing the proceedings of the Government in the East. Lord Salisbury's course, so far as it is known, meets with the warm approval of the nation; and although our special envoy has failed in his mission, we are glad to know that he returns to England with his honour untarnished. It is for the Government to explain why they virtually neutralised Lord Salisbury's authority by maintaining Sir Henry Elliot at his post at Constantinople. Our Ministers must be prepared to show that they adopted every means in their power to impress upon the Turks the conviction that if they turned a deaf ear to the collective opinion of Europe, they would entirely forfeit the goodwill even of a Tory Cabinet. Now that Lord Beaconsfield and his colleagues are about to render to Parliament an account of their stewardship, a pamphlet from the pen of Mr. Sedley Taylor, of Cambridge, will be found a very timely publication. In this brochure, which is published under the auspices of the

Liberal Central Association, Mr. Taylor reviews the policy of Lord Derby, from the period of the first outbreak in Herzegovina and Bosnia down to the close of last session; and we regret to say that the result of his examination of that policy is to the last degree humiliating to the English reader. When it is remembered that the insurgents in those provinces were driven to take up arms against the Turks by cruelties and oppressions such as make rebellion itself a sacred duty, it appears monstrous that, so far back as August, 1875, Lord Derby—not content with a policy of non-interference—should have gone out of his way to induce Austria to take steps to prevent the insurgents from receiving moral or material support from her territory. We should have thought that a Minister who was capable of taking a statesmanlike view of the situation would have endeavoured to make himself acquainted with the causes of the insurrection, and that, on discovering the frightful state of misrule which existed in the disturbed provinces, he would have recommended the Turks, in no doubtful or measured language, to put their house in order, warning them that, if they neglected the first duties of a Government, they must not expect England to continue their friend. Lord Derby, instead of taking this line, did his best to coax the insurgents to lay down their arms, although he was not prepared to offer them any guarantee that their last state would not be worse than their first. It appears that the interview of the British Consul with the insurgents took place at the entreaty of the Turkish Government, but yet the moment the negotiation was at an end the Turks lost no time in attacking the unfortunate Christians, who, being thus taken at a disadvantage, sustained severe losses in killed and wounded. The only comment the English Foreign Minister makes upon this gross piece of treachery is that it was "ill-advised."

We have recalled this early episode in the history of the insurrection because it contains the key to the action of our Government at every subsequent stage of the controversy. Whether the Andrassy Note, or the Berlin Memorandum, or the Bulgarian massacres were under discussion, their sole object was, at all costs, to uphold in its integrity the absolute authority of the Turkish Government. Yet Mr. Taylor shows, from a careful analysis of comparatively recent consular reports, that the Foreign Office had at that time in its possession ample official evidence of the rottenness of the Turkish Administration, and of the hopelessly miserable condition of the Christian rayahs. But Mr. Taylor prefers a number of personal charges against both Lord Beaconsfield and Lord Derby which, if public men are to be subjected to any kind of responsibility, they certainly ought to be called upon to answer in their places in the House of Lords. On June 26 the Duke of Argyll asked the Foreign Secretary whether the accounts of the atrocities which had been published in the *Daily News* were confirmed by official information. His lordship answered that although there had been cruelties on both sides the reports which he had received "did not bear out in any degree" the statements referred to by the noble duke. Nevertheless, it appears that, when this reply was given, Lord Derby was in possession of a series of alarming consular despatches, one of which reported "that villages were burning in all directions of the compass," while another informed him that at the village of Otlukeui the troops under Hafous Pasha had slaughtered no fewer than three hundred women and children in a church. We are unable to recapitulate all the Ministerial tergiversations of a similar kind which Mr. Taylor brings to light in his able pamphlet. We need hardly remind our readers of Lord Beaconsfield's characterisation of the reports of the Bulgarian horrors as "coffee-house babble;" of his telling Mr. Evelyn Ashley that the official reports from Philippopolis made no mention of these outrages—although he must have known what Mr. Ashley did not know, that we had no consular agency of any kind at that place—of his tribute to the good character of those Circassian savages whose hands were so deeply dyed in innocent blood; or lastly, of his Aylesbury speech, in which he attributed to his Government a series of negotiations with the Great Powers in the interest of the insurgent Christians which, as both the Duke of Argyll and Mr. Taylor conclusively demonstrate, had no existence whatever except in his own imagination.

Sir Stafford Northcote lately expressed himself as being anxious, and even eager, for an opportunity of defending the conduct of the Government in the Parliamentary arena. We suspect that he will find it no easy or agreeable task to reply to the different articles of Mr. Sedley Taylor's impeachment, and he may



therefore perhaps be tempted to fall back upon the old device of imputing party motives to his opponents. Mr. E. A. Freeman, in a masterly pamphlet which has just been published,\* deals very effectively with this parrot cry. "If," he remarks, "we say a word against Lord Derby or Lord Beaconsfield, we are told that we are acting only from party motives. Indeed, some people seem to think that Lord Derby can change the nature of right and wrong. For if we say that Lord Derby did certain things, and that those things were wrong, they do not try either to prove that Lord Derby did not do those things, nor yet to prove that those things were not wrong. All that they do is to cry out that it is wicked to speak against Lord Derby." This is without exaggeration the position taken up by many Tory orators and writers, although it is necessary to observe that they do not always act upon their own principle. When, for example, Lord Salisbury gives the world reason to believe that he is moved by the same generous sentiment as that which has so deeply stirred the heart of the English nation, then they do not think it wrong to speak evil even of Conservative dignitaries. If Lord Salisbury had made friends of the Turkish ring at Constantinople, and had stood shoulder to shoulder with Sir Henry Elliot in the Conference, no doubt they would have lauded him to the skies, instead of openly condemning his conduct, or at best damning him with faint praise. As for their imputation of party spirit against those who have demanded justice for the suffering Christians of Eastern Europe, Mr. Freeman, in the admirable brochure to which we have already referred, remarks truly that our treatment of Lord Salisbury is in itself a proof that we are not acting out of blind party spirit. "Lord Salisbury," he says, "is not on our own side in home politics; therefore, if we were acting only through party spirit, we should speak against him also. But, though he is not on our side in home politics, we believe him to be a just and truthful man, whose sympathies were on the right side, and who tried to do what was best under very difficult circumstances." We are convinced that this is the spirit which influences the Liberal party as well as the country generally. Both are always willing to extend a generous confidence to any statesman who satisfies them that he is really anxious to uphold the good name of his country and to champion the cause of the oppressed.

#### THE DRINK QUESTION.

THERE have been many signs of late that the crusade against intemperance has entered into a new and more practical phase. If it be not out of the hands of the older organisations by whom it was commenced, it is in the hands of other bodies besides, and many of the most thoughtful and earnest minds in the country, unhampered by previously-held theories, or pledges, are studying the subject, with the sole object of adopting the best, or the most practicable, measures for repressing the excessive drinking which is generally admitted to be one of the most alarming features of the times. The formation of new societies connected with various religious bodies; the open conferences which bring together persons holding diverse views; the interest shown by public men who at one period felt no call to take part in the discussion—the appearance of articles in periodicals once almost closed against the subject; and the preparation of a whole group of Parliamentary measures—these, and similar facts, indicate a state of public feeling out of which will ultimately come changes which, whether wise or unwise, adequate or inadequate, will be conceived in a spirit of honest determination to abate, if it be impossible to eradicate, a social evil which, as most people admit, "has increased, is increasing, and ought to be diminished."

We should be sorry to evince impatience at the necessarily gradual growth of that intelligence and feeling which are needed to correct old mistakes, and uproot firmly established systems. Yet, with another Parliamentary Session just commencing, we may not unreasonably ask, whether the time has not come when the army of temperance reformers should agree upon their line of march—should frame measures which, however limited in their scope, would have the great Parliamentary merit of being practical, as regards both the passing and the execution of them, and should concentrate all their energies upon the efforts needed to defeat the army of drink-sellers, whose resistance may be confidently anticipated? That is not a large requirement, and falls far below a "settlement on a basis that shall last

for a generation," which a correspondent—whose suggestive letter elsewhere deserves careful consideration—declares to be a necessity. Such a settlement will clearly not be within our reach for some time to come, and, in the interval, we shall probably have to make experiments, some of which will wholly fail, while others may point the way to complete success.

Great demonstrations in favour of the "Permissive" Bill might well, in our opinion, give place for a time to the advocacy of bills which members of Parliament dare not either oppose, or support by unreal votes. Precious Wednesday afternoons might be spent more profitably than in affording fresh opportunities for inexhaustible pleasantries, extracted from what the public is beginning to feel to be anything but a joking matter. And, instead of the few available Wednesdays being scrambled for by several members, each with his own measure, which it is known beforehand he cannot possibly carry, why should there not be concentration of effort to carry a single bill, which, however it might fall short of the desires of the more ardent temperance reformers, would be a step in the right direction, and be none the less valuable because it would be of necessity tentative?

What happened last Session in connection with the Bill for closing public-houses on Sunday in Ireland illustrates the power of combination for a single object. Not only were all shades of temperance reformers united in support of the measure, but all shades of politicians felt the pressure put upon them, and, though the Government did not at once yield, it is evident that they will be compelled, perhaps during the ensuing session, to give effect to the wishes of—in this matter—the united people of Ireland. We do not say that it would be possible, or, if possible, desirable, to carry a similar measure for England; but if the suggestion made at the recent conference on intemperance at Newbury were adopted, and it were proposed to close public-houses in country places in England on Sundays, it would probably receive a degree of support which would astonish politicians who are almost paralysed by fear of the public-house interest.

There was another proposition unanimously adopted at the Newbury Conference, on which there might be agreement, even among those who differ on other points, viz., "That the Legislature be pressed to pass a bill allowing no further licences to public-houses until the number is reduced to a reasonable proportion with the population." In one sense, it may be said that such legislation would settle nothing; but the practical result would be very great. At present the main difficulty in the way of reform is to be found, not so much in the opposition of the drinkers—who are an unorganised, and therefore not a formidable body—as of the drink-sellers; who are thoroughly organised and, to a certain extent, make the drinkers their allies. And the sellers' opposition, we may assume, is prompted, not by love of drinking or of drinkers, but solely by fear for the vast pecuniary interests which the traffic involves. These vested interests are as much the chief difficulties in the way of abridging, and controlling, the drink trade, as they are in the way of disestablishing the Church. Only they grow in magnitude and in strength to a far greater degree than they do in the Establishment. A suspensory Act would at least stop the growth of the evil; as well as pledge the Legislature to further measures. In many localities, the effect would seem small enough; but let one, two, or three years pass without any addition to the vast array of English public-houses and beerhouses—and we do not see why we should not add grocers' licences—and there would be a sensible diminution of that immense force with which both Parliament and philanthropists will have to reckon, as well as to fight. Inconvenience, both public and personal, would be, no doubt, in some instances occasioned by the drawing of so sharp a line between past and future legislation; but it would be as nothing in comparison with the evils which grow and grow, even while we are resolving to extirpate them, and are debating and deciding upon the remedy to be adopted for the purpose.

There seem to us to be other projects equally separated from others of a kindred kind, and which might be dealt with on the "divide and conquer," rather than on the comprehensive, principle. Thus the question—who should issue and cancel licences? is quite different from such other questions as to what extent should licences be issued, and on what conditions should they be held? Nor do we see why, if Birmingham chooses to try the Gothenburg system, it should be denied the opportunity of doing so, because there is a general impression that, though it may suit Sweden, "it will never do in England." Perhaps not; but surely so

interesting an experiment is worth trying on a small scale, and when the established clergy of Birmingham are seen to be at one with the town council of Birmingham in the matter, there is an opportunity for experimenting such as is rarely presented in English municipal life. Liverpool has tried free trade in drink, which is said to have failed to effect its intended purpose. It is something to have gained certain knowledge on such a point, and Birmingham will render yet greater service if it tries to solve the problem in what may be termed an anti-theical way.

We need not enlarge. Our purpose has been to urge those who are so deeply interested in the matter to seek to hasten the time when the concrete will take the place of the abstract, and the particular of the general; and when, besides statements and statistics, and denunciations and lamentations, we shall have well-considered legislative measures, for which we can struggle in Parliament and in the polling-booth; with the well-grounded conviction that we shall succeed in carrying them, and with the resolution that, when carried, they shall be fully and honestly tried.

MR. JOHN CROSSLEY, M.P.

The Halifax Liberal Association met on Friday night to consider the question of the representation of the borough. A letter was read from Mr. Crossley, M.P., expressing his determination to resign the seat on account of the state of his health. The announcement drew forth general expressions of regret and of eulogy of the hon. gentleman. A resolution was adopted declining to accept the resignation, expressing the warmest sympathy with him, and trusting that his health may be speedily re-established, urged him to retain a seat he had so worthily filled.

The *Bradford Observer* of Monday says:—"Up to Saturday evening no change had occurred in the situation with regard to the representation of Halifax. During the whole day, on the Exchange, in the hotels, shops, and every place of public resort, the one topic of conversation was Mr. Crossley, M.P., his affairs, his resignation, and who was likely to be his successor. Very little business was done in commercial circles, but there were numerous small gatherings of active partisans of all sides in politics, by whom the situation was discussed. The general impression was that Mr. Crossley's enormous pecuniary losses were the sole cause of his resigning his seat in Parliament. It is well known that he was never ambitious of office, and that he contested the borough much more in the interests of his party than from any private motives or love of position. It was not therefore to be wondered at, that on all hands, from men of every shade of politics, and of all creeds, one general expression of sympathy was heard. Nor could this be otherwise, surrounded as Halifax is by the numerous monuments of the enterprise and perseverance of the Crossley family; and also of the very many noble examples of their charity and consideration for the interests of not only their fellow-townsmen, but of the widows and orphans of the United Kingdom. The feeling was still further intensified on its becoming known that Mr. Crossley had left Halifax on the previous day, for a long sojourn elsewhere, and that his health was very indifferent. As to who would be the probable candidate for the representation of the borough, in room of Mr. Crossley, should that gentleman be firm in his resolution to accept the stewardship of the Chiltern Hundreds, there is still a considerable amount of uncertainty. The result of the meeting of the members of the Liberal Association, held on Friday night, was evidently not what was expected, but it seemed to be generally approved. In the first place it gave to Mr. Crossley, in addition to the expression of the sympathy of his constituents, and of their unabated confidence in him, an opportunity of reconsidering his determination to resign. The names of several candidates, Liberal and Conservative, are freely canvassed; but pending the receipt of a final answer from Mr. Crossley, nothing will be done by either party. The Conservatives have gracefully followed the policy of their opponents by postponing any action for the present. A meeting of the Halifax Conservative Association had been called for Saturday to consider the situation; but it was merely formal, and was adjourned in a few minutes."

The influence brought to bear upon Mr. Crossley has been of no avail, and he has definitely resolved to resign his seat. The meeting of the Liberal Association to consider the subject will be held this evening, but it is understood that no Liberal candidate will be selected until Mr. Crossley's retirement has actually taken place, and the Conservatives have also resolved on a like course.

At a meeting of the London and County Banking Company on Thursday (fuller particulars of which appear elsewhere), the report, which was adopted, showed, inclusive of £25,719 brought forward, a net profit for the six months ended the 31st of December of £131,166. From this the dividend of eight per cent. for the half-year absorbed £120,000, and the balance was carried to the next account.

\* *The Turks in Europe*. Published by William Muller and Son.



## Literature.

## BISHOP THIRLWALL'S REMAINS.\*

Bishop Thirlwall was undoubtedly the ablest prelate that the Established Church has seen in the present century. Bishop Wilberforce surpassed him in versatility, in oratory, and in active service, but to Dr. Thirlwall belonged greater scholarship, stronger judgment, and superior weight. The reputation of both men was eminent in their lifetimes, but we do not feel sure that it will be as great many years hence as it is even now, and we question whether the publication of these "Charges" will enhance Bishop Thirlwall's repute amongst the present generation. Not that they do not all sustain the author's literary renown, but that they provoke criticism respecting his capability of accurately weighing the value of passing events, and therefore of forecasting and preparing for their probable issues. It would seem, indeed, that the limitation imposed by ecclesiasticism upon the free movement of the intellect almost extinguishes this power. The men who are thus limited almost invariably believe that they can arrest the tide of human progress, and are generally surprised at, and always unprepared for, the natural course of circumstances. It may seem strange to accuse Bishop Thirlwall of want of sagacity; yet these Charges prove that he was as deficient in this respect as almost any bishop of his time. Nor was he, in many other respects, superior to the average men of his order. He was capable of liberal thought and large sympathies; but his liberality and his sympathies were all confined within the limits of his own denomination. His attitude towards Nonconformity seldom rose superior to that of the most narrow-minded of the most narrow-minded school in his Church; his claims for the Establishment were not more strongly urged by the most intolerant Establishmentarian. Another characteristic these Charges will be found to possess. The bishop seldom gave expression to decisive opinions respecting party controversies. He had a rare faculty—which perhaps gained him his highest reputation—for seeing the respective merits of both sides of a question, and he states these merits with such candour and force that sometimes, and indeed frequently, it is impossible to ascertain what was the inclination of his own opinions. What is estimable here is the credit which he invariably gives to all parties for entire honesty and integrity. He never condescends to language of abuse; and it would have been impossible for him to use the ecclesiastical Billingsgate to which we are too much accustomed in these days. The order of his intellect was that of an impartial judge—but a judge who had not to give a judgment that would involve penal consequences. His dignified impartiality was supreme, and only once or twice in the course of his long episcopate did he, in this respect, forget himself. This we suppose is an ideal attitude of a State-Church bishop—pity 'tis that it is not oftener realised.

The Charges in these two volumes take the reader all through the great ecclesiastical controversies of the last thirty years. In 1842, when the first was delivered, the Tractarian controversy had just commenced. The bishop, it is plain, saw no cause for alarm in it—could not see its necessary tendency or its probable, not to say inevitable, result. What became a fixed manner with him is exhibited in this charge for the first time. It is full of "ifs" and "buts." No doubt, he did not desire to exasperate either of the two classes of opponents in this controversy. In bringing the subject before his audience he characteristically cautions them against enlisting themselves on either side before they had made themselves "fully acquainted with the merits of the case." He enjoins "forbearance," and the attitude of "spectators" instead of that of "partisans." He goes on to say that he "cannot concur with those who would regard the controversy as a subject of unmixed regret, or who think that any evil has hitherto arisen from it, which has not been more than counterbalanced by its beneficial effects." Of course, therefore, he has no "fears":—

Still, whatever may be the amount of the advantage thus gained, it would undoubtedly be too dearly purchased, if the price paid for it were the admission of unsound doctrines, or a breach of unity in the Church; and there are many persons who believe—this indeed is the very gist of the controversy—that one of these evils has befallen us, and to such a degree, that our only prospect of a remedy lies in the other; and there are others who, though differing widely in this

view of the cause, look forward to the same result, some with friendly uneasiness, others with hostile exultation. Unhappily, it cannot be denied that there is some ground for these anticipations; they are often expressed in a manner which tends to realise them; but still I trust that we are yet far removed from such a deplorable alternative. And as I am sure that you, my reverend brethren, all sympathise with me in the wish that this should prove to be the case, it may not be useless to state the reasons which have led me to this opinion, and which induce me to contemplate the present state of the controversy with much more of hope than of alarm.

The summary of the points at issue in this controversy, which follows, is a masterly one, showing the strongest and most complete grasp, not only of every point at issue, but of the opposing principles which underlaid the whole discussion. Yet the end is a calm optimism:—

I will add but one word before I drop the subject. It has been alleged as an objection against the movement which gave rise to this controversy, that its tendency is directly counter to the spirit of the age, and betrays that its authors have been misled by a blind antipathy, which prevents them from discerning between the good and the evil in the character of their own times. I do not know whether the fact warrants the interference; but doubtless so to set ourselves above the spirit of our age, would be no less foolish and blamable than the idolatrous admiration which bows to it as infallibly wise, and perfectly good. I would only observe that if such be the real nature of the movement, there can be little reason for alarm about its progress. It is as if one should dread a series of encroachments on the bed of the sea because an attempt has been somewhere made to shut it out by a dike.

Before the Charge of 1845 had been delivered this controversy had spread, but the bishop was as unruffled as ever. He still held that distinctive Romish doctrines were not involved. He admits, indeed, that recent occurrences had been "surprising and alarming"; but he sees comfort, notwithstanding. In fact, when referring to the Protestant feeling that had been exhibited by the laity, he thinks that "this reaction might well be hailed with pleasure by friends of the Church, as a manifestation of Protestant feeling, though they might not in all cases approve of the manner in which it was carried on, and might regret many of its visible or probable consequences."—and so on. A signal proof that the bishop did not fear the advance of Romanism in Great Britain is his famous vindication of the grant to Maynooth, which is to be found in the same Charge. Even here, however, he takes his favourite attitude. In his defence of the grant he, for the first time, discusses the duty of the State in regard to religion. His remarks are well worth quoting at this time:—

It is a high question of political ethics to determine the duty of the State, or governing body, toward its subjects, as to their religious concerns, when, as in our own empire, they are divided into a number of societies, separated from each other by religious differences. There are two opposite extremes of opinion on this head, which have perhaps found the more favour because each is recommended by an appearance of simplicity, and seems to save the trouble of farther investigation. According to one of these opinions, the State best fulfils its duty if it observes a strict neutrality, and takes care, whatever may be the sentiments of the persons who compose the governing body, in their private capacity, not to betray any preference of one religious persuasion to another. According to the opposite opinion, the duty of the State, though widely different, is equally simple; it is to favour one religion, and one only; namely, that which the persons exercising the powers of government, who are supposed to be unanimous in their own religious belief, hold to be the true one; and the individual statesman is no more at liberty in his public character to afford countenance or support to any other, than he is in the use of his private means. I look upon these two extremes as equally erroneous, and I will not pronounce which is the more mischievous.

His conclusion respecting the duty of a statesman in regard to all such matters is frankly expressed, and no doubt it is the only logical conclusion for a State-Churchman. His opinion is that "there are circumstances in which it becomes the duty of the State, and of the individual statesman in his public capacity, to act ministerially for the maintenance of a religion which is opposed in the most essential points to his personal, avowed, and most deeply-cherished convictions."

We will follow the bishop to the result of the Tractarian controversy. That was fully seen in 1848, when his third Charge was delivered. But he was as satisfied even then. Referring to the previous three years, he says:—

Whatever motives for thankfulness we then enjoyed have been permitted to subsist unimpaired. And if, during that period, the tranquillity of the Church has not been wholly unbroken, the interruption has, perhaps, been such as rather to afford a satisfactory indication of vigilance and alertness, than to excite any well-grounded alarm. For, as of late years we have witnessed an extraordinary movement not always healthy in its nature, and not rarely carried to a dangerous excess, it may be regarded as a cheering feature in the present aspect of the Church, that since that agitation had subsided, it has not made way, as might have been not unreasonably apprehended, for apathy and listlessness; but that the return of a greater measure of godly quietness has been found consistent with the maintenance of a steady, earnest, and, we humbly

trust, a growing, though peaceful and well-regulated activity.

Specifically referring to the portentous secession of clergymen from the Church of England to the Church of Rome, Bishop Thirlwall adds, with equal calmness:—

We have now had time to recover from the startling and painful impression which was produced by the extraordinary number of secessions to the Romish communion, not only from our Church, but from our ministry, which took place shortly after our last meeting. They acquired a show of importance far greater than would otherwise have belonged to them from the apprehension which they naturally excited, that they might prove tokens of a more widespread disaffection. Neither that alarm, nor the exultation with which they were hailed by our adversaries, has been justified by the event.

His criticism of Dr. Newman's work on development, in this Charge, although brief, is a remarkable specimen of his power of comprehension and of accurate statement, but he thought that even this work would do good. We cannot follow him through all his Charges, including that on the Gorham case, and the best remembered one, on the "Essays and Reviews," but the same characteristics of mind are exhibited in each, the same grasp of controversy, and the same universal optimism.

It seems strange that a man of such power should have been so little unlike other men of his class in respect to those who stood outside the pale of his communion. We have already referred to this. It is especially illustrated in his references to the Church-rates and the education questions—both of which he dealt with from time to time, and occasionally at great length. The Braintree case led him to discuss the nature of the objections to Church-rates, and, although he came to the conclusion that the mode of levying them was inexpedient, he was of opinion that "the plea of conscience and religious liberty" was altogether foreign to the question. Believing this, he, of course, avoided the main issue, and stated the case thus:—

But the objection to compulsory Church-rates would apply just as forcibly to the indisputable legal right of the majority to bind the minority, and is based upon a principle which, if consistently carried out, would lead to the dissolution of all civil society. For a compulsory Church-rate is neither more nor less unjust than any other impost levied for purposes of which the person subject to it conscientiously disapproves. But there is manifestly no assignable limit to the scruples of conscience, which may be felt with regard to the purposes to which any part of the public funds may be applied. No branch of the public expenditure is more strongly opposed by some, on purely religious grounds, than that of the military establishments on which the national independence and safety most immediately depend. The objection, therefore, to Church-rates as compulsory really implies that no charge can be rightfully laid upon property without the personal consent of each individual concerned; and that when imposed it should continue subject to the like consent in the case of all those into whose hands the same property may successively pass. It is easy to see that such a doctrine virtually strikes at the root of all Government and social order.

After the House of Lords' Committee upon this question, and the evidence given concerning the Liberation Society before that committee, the bishop candidly said that "to relinquish what we hold for the sake of quiet, would be suicidal infatuation."

Bishop Thirlwall was one of the first to direct attention to the Liberation Society. We quote from the Charge of 1860:—

The so-called Liberation Society has both put us fairly on our guard, by an unreserved disclosure of its designs, and has shown us how they are to be counteracted. Though this society has been at work for a considerable time, it is but recently, and only in connection with the Church-rate question, that it has attracted a large share of public attention. Those who side with it on that question, without belonging to it, or even concurring with it in its ulterior objects, regret that it should have been brought so prominently forward, and are anxious to depreciate its importance. They would fain have it regarded as a knot of persons holding extreme opinions, in which they meet with very little sympathy from the public, and therefore incapable of exerting any material influence on the public mind. If, with regard to Church-rates, their efforts have not been ineffectual, that is attributed to the alleged fact that they found public opinion on that subject to a great extent already with them, and had nothing to do but to call it forth into united action. I believe this to be a very imperfect and incorrect account of their proceedings. I cannot doubt that the Church-rate agitation has been not only fomented and directed, but to a great degree created by their agency. I believe that they have not only propagated their opinions on that head, but have impressed many with a belief in the general prevalence of those opinions, not warranted by the real state of the case. . . . There is no reason why multitudes, as great as those which have signed the petitions against Church-rates, should not be brought by like means to declare their conviction of the unlawfulness of all connection between Church and State. The leaders of the movement are themselves conscious of their power of "indoctrinating public opinion." They believe that they are exerting it with a good measure of success; and are encouraged by the reflection, that, although their theory is, as they admit, "of comparatively modern origin," it has already come into very respectable vogue."

The last Charge in these two volumes, exhibits a power equal in all respects to the first. Every word can be read with interest, although, by us, not with assent. Bishop Thirlwall con-

\* *Remains, Literary and Theological, of Connop Thirlwall, late Lord Bishop of St. David's.* Edited by J. J. STEWART PEROWNE, D.D. Charges. Two Vols. (Daldy, Isbister, and Co.)



ferred an exceptional lustre upon his Church, but the man would have been a greater man and probably have done greater public service, had he not been a bishop.—We shall look forward with interest to the publication, which is promised, of his speeches and articles.

"VAN LAUN'S HISTORY OF FRENCH LITERATURE." \*

Though Mr. Van Laun has very probably derived his idea of this work from M. Taine's valuable "History of English Literature," he does in no sense slavishly follow that master. Nay, he diverges from him on principle, though he has been wise enough to observe and to profit by example of the patient manner in which M. Taine makes his researches. Mr. Van Laun, if he lacks the extensive learning, has caught something of the method and the eclectic spirit of his master. He has read extensively and with deliberative judgment; and if he does not in all cases completely bring his facts into strict consistency with his leading principles, we can see that he has spared no labour. Sometimes it would almost seem as though he had scarcely marked out in his own mind definitively enough the lines of distinction between the obtaining spirit of one period and that of another, thus failing to emphasise with the completeness we could have desired the essential characteristics of the individual author most typical of the time. He seems sometimes too bold and outspoken; sometimes again he is hardly bold and outspoken enough. But, in spite of all that, he shows himself able to take a broad view and to trace out the various influences which go to the formation of a literature. Like M. Taine, he declines to view it apart from forces political and social; and like M. Taine, he first employs himself in tracing out the various elements of race. He says well in his introductory chapter:—

M. Taine has done for English literature what no Englishman has done, and he has made contributions to the general history of literature such as hardly any other historian had previously made, but in two important aspects—and I state this with all due deference and diffidence—he appears to have fallen short of the standard which he has adopted. He has valued too cheaply the paramount influence which the political, perhaps also the social, history of a generation exerts upon an author and his works; and he has passed too lightly over the immeasurable reflex influences which literary productions have upon political and social history. These influences are not only vast and mutual; they to a large extent balance and compensate each other. It is an eternal progress in which humanity works out its own development according to its own inherent laws.

The literature of a country is the reflex of that people's history. The history of human society, whether in its political or its domestic aspects, is more or less definitely, a succession of biographies and biographical details, and this is precisely what we discover at the base of all literary movements. The book is the man holding converse with his fellows; the man is the exemplar and epitome of his day and generation. From the documents of a past age we can in some sense reconstruct the age, and he will prove himself the most faithful historian who most clearly realises this fact. The mere piecing together of documents, poems, chronicles, and state-papers will not suffice for genuine history, we must perceive behind these the living and breathing men and women. Moreover, no literature will be found to be more truly the reflex of a nation's history than that which it is our design to study, unless it be the literature of England.

French writers have written with their souls on their work, even when the soul was hollowest and its feelings least genuine. Whatever we may find of mannerism in French literature is but a proof that the words bear the impress of the man who wrote them, and mannerism is a characteristic of French literature. Few Frenchmen could be named whose style would not at once recur to us, with its specialities of expression, its own excellences or tricks of language. The reason is that the nation writes as it thinks, straight from the heart, or from the fancy, or from the mood of the hour; and from this straightforwardness it has arisen that its literature is, in a peculiar and remarkable degree, a reflection of its history.

Some of the terms in this last paragraph are hardly so strict and expressive as we could have wished; but in the general idea Mr. Van Laun means to convey we fancy we are at one with him.

After a very elaborate chapter on the Elements of Race, in which Mr. Van Laun, following Ampère, claims for the French a maintaining groundwork of true Gallic *esprit*, in spite of Greek, Roman, and German influences, and indicates the deposits left by early Christian teachers, he goes on to estimate the effect of Charlemagne's rule on literature and art—a section which, if not strictly original in idea, is yet decidedly thoughtful and finished in style. He next considers the structure of feudal society and the forms of literature it favoured, follows out the various tendencies which resulted at length in Troubadours, Trouvères, and Jonglers, and the arts practised by them with such address and skill, glancing at the construction and intention of Codes of

Love and Courts of Love—indicating that he has glanced at many things with which he has not found it judicious to deal.

The first efforts of the Trouvères (he writes), were partly directed towards the celebration of national heroes; both because the deeds of illustrious Frenchmen were most familiar to them, and were the subject of greater pride to themselves and to their hearers, and because their poetic genius, still only half fledged, had not acquired the courage to venture far afield. And truly there was, in the history of the Carolingian kings and their kingly, as well as of their predecessors and successors, abundant inspiration for romantic minds. Throughout the long night of the tenth century Frenchmen had cherished the glories of the previous epoch, during which the sword of Charlemagne had established a mighty empire, stretching between the North Sea and the Mediterranean, between the Ebro and the Oder. No sooner had a new prosperity taught the poet to sing, and given to kings, nobles, and people, the leisure and the inclination to hear, than the mind of the nation fell back upon its happiest traditions, and began to create a popular literature. Some of the earlier poems of the Trouvères go as far back as the times of Clovis and Dagobert; whilst others come down almost to contemporary heroes. But of all the epics of the national French cycle, the figure of Charlemagne is the centre, as Arthur is the centre of the epics of Britain.

Some of the peculiar influences at work in the shaping of the Carolingian cycle and later romances, have been very subtly noted by Mr. J. M. Ludlow in his work on the Epics of the Middle Ages; and though it does not seem that M. Van Laun has ever seen Mr. Ludlow's book, there are one or two points of coincidence which would have been well worth noting had we had sufficient space for this purpose.

The chapter on the Renaissance is marked by equal research and care. But what we have found most interesting in the latter portion are the criticisms on Rabelais and Montaigne. Mr. Van Laun knows how to mingle biographical fact with criticism without sacrificing the force of the one or the characteristic quality of the other. And this is precisely what happens in such an attempt as this in other than skilful hands. Nay, sometimes even M. Taine himself loses critical distinctness and proportion in his passion for picturesque groupings of biographical detail.

Rabelais (says Mr. Van Laun) addressed himself ostentatiously to the vulgar, or say rather to such as preferred coarseness to polish, and a laugh to a stab. His were essentially funny stories, not bitter poems nor scathing pamphlets. So, at least, the ecclesiastics must have thought, and so, no doubt, Rabelais intended them to think. In addition, he chose an archaic style of writing, and not improbably circulated his works with discretion. He certainly maintained his incognito as long as he could, and he no less certainly relied on the staunchness of his powerful friends; yet, multiply as we may the explanations of his remarkable immunity, we come back to the one strong reason after all. His bitterness was concealed and made palatable by his coarseness, and that coarseness was his best protector.

Of course our satirist had his enemies and persecutors. In the monastery, above all, he had to run the gauntlet of the hatred and petty persecutions always reserved for a monk who dared to divest himself of his detestable monkish jargon, which they called Latin. He and his friend Pierre Lamy were more than once subjected to annoyance, and even to personal discipline of no trifling sort, for the persistence of their attachment to the new fangled studies. The learned Budé conceived a great friendship for the ingenious young monks who thus bravely followed his exhortations, and it is said that a regular correspondence was kept up between them. The troubles of Rabelais amongst his fellow-monastics, no doubt, influenced him on passing from one order to another, and in finally quitting the cloister altogether. It would have been utterly impossible that he should have wholly escaped persecution, but he did escape it in its worst forms, owing to more than one powerful patron his deliverance from more than one imminent danger.

Rabelais' learning, his sound judgment on all questions of education, his zeal for the methods and theories which had commended themselves to his mind, are, next to his wit and railery, the most prominent features of his work. In the training of the young Gargantua he has the same opportunity which J. J. Rousseau made for himself in "Emile"; and he uses it effectively. In his admirable chapters on the education of Gargantua, he unfolds to us his own simple and rational plans for the development of a human being from the uncorrupted elements of humanity. The mind and the body are cultivated side by side, without preference, check, or forcing, the faculties and instincts of the child and the youth are allowed free play; the moral and intellectual qualities are expanded by a healthy and well-directed exercise. No hour of the day was sacrificed to idleness, for no hour of the day was without its due provisions of recreation, of relaxation, or of appointed study. The weakness of Rousseau's system—for it is impossible to give to the whole of his well-considered plan of education the assent and commendation due to the greater portion of it—is that he would leave too much to the chapter of accidents during the earlier years of childhood, forbidding any attempt to mould or train the mind until a certain age has been attained. Rabelais has not thus delayed the application of rules and methods.

We have quoted this passage with the more pleasure, because we believe that it does justice, and no more than justice, to the learning, the philosophy, and the fine perception of youthful capability shown by Rabelais. Most of those who have studied "Gargantua" will agree that the chapters in which he describes the education of the hero breathe an elevation and high purpose such as the general notion of him would hardly lead one to expect. We are particularly

pleased, too, with Mr. Van Laun's tribute to Christine de Pisan, who, amid great suffering and trial, did much to brighten and to preserve record of the very attractive character and doings of Charles the Fifth, presenting the most admirable pictures of his Court—without which our ideas of that time could hardly have been so clear.

In spite of some defects and some faults, Mr. Van Laun's first volume—which, on the whole, exhibits a skilful use of materials and a decided power of clearly seeing a way over large and arduous topics—leads us to look eagerly for further volumes. If they maintain the position secured by this one, English literature will be benefited; for at the present time, when a knowledge of French is becoming more and more a part of ordinary English education, there is no greater desideratum than a work which will give a clear and philosophic view of the literature in its historical relations. At present the student is too much at the mercy of such partial views as it may be for the interest or the convenience of the teacher to recommend.

"GERMAN LOVE."

We cannot anticipate for this delicious revelation of German thought and sentiment an extensive run at the libraries. Nevertheless it is simply delightful if read in the true mood. The endless searchings after some ideal good in lieu of pure human love robbed of an object; the contest between the intellect and the feelings in the surrender to some sense of mystery that alone can impart wholeness to human life; the *Zauberei*, the charm derived from the poetical perception of nature, and its relations to the more intimate pleasures of the spirit—all are here in exquisite combination, with just enough of ordinary incident to give a sense of reality and of genuine experiences. This and no more. The atmosphere is distinctly that of the German *mährchen*—though all the complex machinery and creatures of the fancy are absent. It is an idyll of to-day, touched by the purest and tenderest aspiration, lit up by the subdued afterglow of poetic thought, deepened by the burden of death and self-sacrifice. It is beyond our power to present any outline of this gem, a few of the separate thoughts, which abound in it, may be detached and set before our readers. Our first shall be on the love of childhood:—

Alas, how little remains of this love ere we have passed the half of our life's journey! Even the child learns that there are "strangers," and ceases to be a child. The spring of love is hidden, and, as years go on, is quite choked up: our eyes no longer sparkle, but, serious and wearied, we pass by each other in the noisy streets; we hardly greet each other, for we know how deeply it wounds the soul when a greeting remains unacknowledged, and how it pains us to part from those whom we have once greeted, and whose hands we have once pressed. The wings of the soul lose nearly all their feathers,—the leaves of the flower are nearly all bruised and withered,—and but a few drops remain of the inexhaustible fountain of love, to cool our tongues, that we may not faint in the desert. These we still call love. But it is no longer the pure, full, joyous love of the child: it is love with doubt and sorrow, burning fire, blazing passion,—love which consumes itself, like rain-drops on hot sand,—love which exacts, not love which spends itself; love which asks, "Will you be mine?" not love which says, "I must be thine:" it is self-absorbed, desperate love. And this is the love which poets sing, and youths and maidens believe in: a fire which flares up and dies down, but never warms, and leaves nothing behind but smoke and ashes. We have all, at some time, believed that these rockets are sunbeams of eternal love. But the brighter the meteor, the darker the night which follows.

This may fitly pass as a companion passage:—

Grace is real beauty, and grace alone is the spiritualising of all that is dull and material and earthly; it is that presence of the spirit which can even make the ugly beautiful. The more closely I observed the vision which stood before me, the more I perceived the noble beauty of every lineament, and the depth of soul that lay in her whole being. Oh, what blessedness was near me! and was it all only to show me the highest summit of earthly happiness, and then to cast me down for ever into the flat sandy waste of life? Oh, that I had never imagined what treasures this earth holds! But to love once, and then to be alone for ever! to believe once, and then to despair for ever! to see the light once, and then to be blind for ever! that is torture compared to which all human torture-chambers are as nothing.

And thus the wild hunt of my thoughts swept on and on till at last all became still, and the whirling feelings were gradually collected and composed. Men call this quiet exhaustion reflection; but we are really not reflecting, we are only looking on. We leave our thoughts to themselves till they shoot into crystals spontaneously, or according to eternal laws; we watch the process like an attentive chemist, and when the elements have taken their form we often wonder that they and we are so very different from what we expected.

Only another extract can we find room for:—

Only one thought brings us comfort sometimes;—

\* *German Love*. From the Papers of an Alien. Translated from the Fourth German Edition by G. A. M. With a Preface by F. MAX MÜLLER. (London: William Muller and Son.)

\* *History of French Literature*. By HENRI VAN LAUN. From its Origin to the Renaissance. (Smith, Elder and Co.)



that is, the quiet, the order, the immensity, and the certainty of Nature's work. Here, where the waterfall has clothed the grey stone on both sides with dark green moss, deep in the cool shadow a blue forget-me-not suddenly catches the eye: it is one of millions of sisters that now bloom by every streamlet and over every meadow of the earth, and have bloomed ever since the first morning of creation scattered the whole wealth of inexhaustible power over the world. Each line on its leaves, every stamen in its calyx, every filament of its roots is numbered, and no power on earth can increase or decrease them. When we aid our dim-sighted eyes, and with superhuman power look deeper into the secrets of nature, when the microscope opens to us the quiet laboratories of the seed, of the buds, and of the flowers, we perceive anew in the finest tissues and cells the same constantly recurring form, and in the slightest filaments the eternal unchangeableness of nature's laws. Could we go still deeper, the same world of forms would everywhere meet our eyes, and as in a room surrounded with mirrors, the eye would lose itself in endless repetitions. Such an infinity lies buried in this little flower; and if we look up to heaven we trace the same eternal order, as moons revolve round planets, planets round suns, and suns round new suns; and to the sharpened eye the most distant nebula becomes a beautiful new world. Think then, how those majestic stars circle round and round that the seasons of the year may change, that the seed of this forget-me-not may rise again into life, the cells open, the leaves spring forth, and the flowers adorn the carpet of the fields; and think of the butterfly that cradles itself in the blue cup of the flower, and whose awakening to life, and whose enjoyment of existence, whose living breath is a thousand times more wonderful than the tissues of the plant, or the dead mechanism of the heavenly bodies, and feel that thou also dost belong to this eternal world—and thou mayest console thyself with the innumerable creatures that move and live and fade away with thee. But if this all—with its smallest and its greatest creatures, with its wisdom and its might, with the wonder of its existence and the existence of its wonders—is the work of a Being before whom thy soul need not tremble, before whom thou canst bow in the feeling of thy weakness and nothingness, and to whom thou canst look up, trusting in His love and compassion—if thou dost feel truly, that in thee lives something more lasting and eternal than the tissues of the flowers, the spheres of the planets, and the life of the beetle—if thou dost recognise in thyself, as in the shadow, the lustre of the Eternal shining around thee—if thou dost feel in thee and beneath thee and over thee the omnipresence of Him in whom thy semblance becomes being, thy agony rest, thy loneliness communion—then thou knowest to whom thou dost cry in the darkest night of life, "Father, Thy will be done: as in heaven, so on earth; as on earth, so in me." Then all within and around thee becomes clear: the morning twilight with its cold mists vanishes, and new warmth streams through trembling nature. Thou hast found a hand which thou wilt never leave—which will hold thee when the mountains tremble and the planets are extinguished. Wherever thou art, thou art with Him, and He with thee; He is the Ever-near; His is the world, with its flowers and thorns; and His is man, with his joys and sorrows. "Not the slightest thing can happen to thee, but by the will of God."

With such thoughts I pursued my way, sometimes happy, sometimes sad; for even when we have attained rest and peace in the deepest recesses of the soul, it is difficult to remain in that holy solitude. Yes: many forget it again, after they have found it, and hardly know the way that will lead them back to it.

We can easily fancy not a few readers feeling impatient over the "subjective" strain of much in this little work—but some, on the other hand, will doubtless find it interpretive of many of their own rarer experiences, and will be thankful to Professor Max Müller for putting into such a pleasant form a book which they will treasure.

#### BRIEF NOTICES.

*Dictionary of Universal Information.* Geography, History, and Biography. New Edition. Enlarged, corrected, and revised, with illustrations and maps. Vol. I. A. to H. (Ward, Lock, and Tyler.) The true test of such a dictionary as this is a lengthened use of it. Clearly, it is out of our power to apply this test, and to review the volume within a reasonable time. Hence a slight dilemma. Either the book must be passed aside, or a cursory inspection must suffice in a provisional kind of way. We have turned up several scores of testing-words which have occurred to us, and found that this dictionary (where it does not omit) is very correct, precise, and well-condensed. The little biographical notices of Agassiz, Prince Albert, Dean Alford, De Quincey, and Carlyle are admirable, and not less the geographical notices. It is inevitable that such a dictionary cannot be exhaustive; but most names and terms of importance are to be found in it. We should not omit to say that the illustrations are all good with the exception of some of the portraits, which had better not have been given—that of the Prince Consort is a caricature, and those of Dean Alford and Allan Cunningham are hardly better. This is the one salient fault in a book otherwise really well got up.

*History of England from the Year 1830—1874.* By WILLIAM NASSAU MOLESWORTH, M.A., Vicar of Spotland, Rochdale. Abridged edition. (Chapman and Hall.) Molesworth's history has achieved a high place. In one respect it is *sui generis*. It deals with a period which is hardly yet historical,

but, notwithstanding, the topics are treated with as great impartiality and faithfulness as though they had. The files of old newspapers are not tempting, and Mr. Molesworth has made reference to them almost unnecessary, save to students bent on special inquiries. If anyone wants to know about the Reform Bill, or the Indian Mutiny, or the Crimean War, or the Exhibition of 1851, he will find it here presented with a simplicity and eloquence alike praiseworthy. We can entirely endorse Mr. John Bright's words in recommending this book—"It is a great pity that the history of our country that is nearest our own times, young men are least acquainted with. It is not written in histories that are read at school, and they are not old enough, as I am old enough, to remember almost every political fact since the great Reform Bill of 1832. I wish young men would read some history of this period. A neighbour, and friend of mine, a most intelligent and accomplished clergyman—Mr. Molesworth—has published a work, being a political history of England from the year 1830—that is, from the first Reform Bill—until within the last two or three years; a book honestly written, in which facts are plainly—and I believe truly—stated, and a work which would give great information to all the young men of the country, if they could be prevailed upon to read it." This abridged edition is neat and handy, and calculated to be very useful.

*Cripps the Carrier: a Woodland Tale.* By R. D. BLACKMORE, author of "Lorna Doone." (Sampson Low and Co.) We spoke at length of the leading characteristics of "Cripps the Carrier" when it first appeared: of its chaste and elevated descriptive passages, its plot power, its incident, and its general strength. Though not equal to the finest of Mr. Blackmore's novels, it has merits of its own. This cheap edition, we believe, will be welcomed by many who did not have access to the three volumes. We can prophesy for them great pleasure in its perusal—as the nefarious designs of Mr. Luke Sharp unfold themselves, and the patience and beauty of other characters are revealed through distress and separation. Cripps and his sister are admirable portraiture, and there is fun in the butcher brother, and in that old aunt who is in hiding with the heroines in that somewhat utopian forest.

*Lochlère: a Poem.* In Four Parts. (Longmans and Co.) "Lochlère" is not a poem that we can prophesy a large demand for. It is stiff, and lacking in imaginative flow. The author has set out with a theory about the elements of our language, and wishes to show what can be done without Latin intermixture. "What," he asks, "is the language which our learned men have substituted for English? A torpid and virtually dead form of it, debased by a living alloy of Latin, which is corrupted by French spelling and pronunciation, whilst this corruption is again corrupted by English spelling and pronunciation. I have said that the alloy is living, but not so are the words of which it consists. They are so dead that there is not a particle of spring or ring in them." All which may have some truth taken in a hard and fixed sort of way. But what are the facts? That English derives its flexibility from its variety—a fact which all the more highly gifted and more richly endowed of English writers have unconsciously recognised. Rejecting arbitrarily Latin enrichments is simply like closing a stop on a musical instrument and determining not to use it. Variety of note must thus be sacrificed. So with our author: his poems are careful, it may be; they are clear, it may be; but the music that Milton and Spenser found latent in the "vile Latinity" is not here. We should prefer to have philology and poetry apart. This author has given us, in the Yankee phrase, "something mixt." Some scholars may enjoy it—few hearts will it touch.

*The Illustrated Polyglott Pilgrim's Progress.* (Elliot Stock.) This volume, which gives the immortal Pilgrim in French and English in pages facing each other, is the forerunner of a large series, for the publisher says that he means to give the Pilgrim in nearly all the languages of the world. Such a scheme is calculated to answer a very useful end, if critically and carefully done; otherwise not. There are a few lapses in the present issue; which, though not of much consequence, show that nothing is more hard to get than absolutely correct press-reading. The little paired cuts let into the text throughout are very quaint. The book is well got up, and we should fancy ought to find its own place among school books, and also as a suitable present or gift book.

*The Martyr Graves of Scotland.* Second Series. By the Rev. JOHN H. THOMSON. (Johnstone and

Hunter.) This second series of Mr. Thomson's work merits all the praise that was well bestowed upon the first. Here are narratives of visits paid to thirty-five graves in pious remembrance and devotion to the memory of the brave and faithful men whose names have been so seldom referred to. This is one of the defects of our life of anxious activity. We are absorbed in the present, and therefore give but snatches of thought and time to the past. The past of the old ecclesiastical history of Scotland is here brought very vividly before us, and no history is better worth studying or better worth remembering. It is one of undaunted sacrifice for truth and for Christ. These sketches are full, clear, and painstaking, abounding in interesting and moving detail, as well as in grasp of character. Some fourteen illustrations help the reader in the endeavour to realise both the lives of the martyrs and their last resting places. We regret to find that the latter, like the former, are too much neglected.

*Half-Hours with Some English Antiquities.* By LLEWELLYN JEWETT, F.R.S. (Hardwick and Bogue.) Mr. Jewett is an antiquarian of the pure type. He loves antiquities, not only for what they tell us, but for their own sake—because they are antiquities. In this small but attractive volume, the result of years of careful investigations, he tells about the old British, Roman, and Saxon mounds and their contents, with their old pottery, weapons, and personal ornaments, old coins, old architecture, old bells, etc. Very strikingly are the lives and manners of our ancestors brought before us in these chapters, from which more may be learned of our ancient history than from many more ponderous works. The engravings are profuse, and illustrate many points of the text.

*Gwynedd.* A novel in two volumes. By FRANCES GERALDINE SOUTHERN. (Remington and Co.) One of the most wearisome of duties of a reviewer is to read inferior novel, and this, although it is readable, is an inferior novel. Miss Southern has constructed a poor plot, and filled it up with very insufficient skill. Yet, we daresay, there are some persons who might think it a good story, for there is a young lady who is going to be forced to marry a irredeemable scoundrel; there is the scoundrel himself, of a rather old-fashioned type; there are two murders, four marriages, and a mad-house. If these are not enough to satisfy the craving for sensational reading, we despair of its being satisfied. Yet the tale wants strength to be thoroughly sensational. The most tragic events are told in the same level of style as the most commonplace. And, by-the-by, the tricolour cannot have waved over any castle in France for hundreds of years, for it is not a hundred years old, nor did the "White Star" Line exist some fourteen years ago. Miss Southern should find better employment than in writing a useless tale of this character.

*The Ark of God: the Transient Symbol of an Eternal Truth,* with various pulpit matter, is the title of the first volume of the *City Temple Pulpit*. (S. W. Partridge and Co.) By Dr. PARKER. It contains many striking, but unequal addresses, and will be valued by others besides the members of Dr. Parker's congregation. — *Greybeard's Lay Sermons.* By JOHN FRANKLIN GROFF. (Philadelphia: Lippincott and Co.) is a collection of addresses purporting to be "a summary of the great doctrines of Holy Scripture as interpreted and illustrated by the Scriptures themselves." They are plain and earnest in character, but we find nothing particularly remarkable in them. The author is a journalist, and his work seems to have attracted some attention in America, for, he says, "Besides giving the truth, on the wings of the secular press, to thousands of readers at home, the 'Sermons' have been quoted, marked, and sent back to me duplicated in newspapers from New England to California." We are glad to hear it, as well as of other "approving communications." — *Amy's Married Life,* by Mrs. FOLLEN, is also an American production—one of the valuable series of "Daisy Books." (Goubaud and Co.) It is intended to illustrate the unhappy effects of want of perfect confidence between husband and wife, and illustrates them very well both by example and by contrast. Apart from this the tale is fresh and attractive. — Very good is *The Way and the Life*, by Mr. EDWIN HODDER (W. P. Nimmo), consisting of papers apparently addressed, as dedicated, to the members Mr. Hodder's Bible class. They are earnest and affectionate, and are characterised by thorough ecclesiastical liberality. — We are glad to receive a copy of the third edition, in cheap form, of Dr. MELLOR's Congregational Union lectures on *Priesthood in the Light of the New Testament*. Many will be glad to get this supremely able work in its present form.



## Miscellaneous.

THE VICTORIA (PHILOSOPHICAL) INSTITUTE held a meeting at 10, Adelphi-terrace, on Monday evening, Dr. C. Brooke, F.R.S., in the chair. After the election of new members, Mr. David Howard, F.C.S., read a paper upon "The Structure of Geological Formations as an Evidence of Design." After which a paper by Principal Dawson, F.R.S., "On the Recent Discovery of numerous Flint Agricultural Implements in America," was read.

THE TEMPERANCE MOVEMENT.—Great activity now prevails in all departments of the temperance cause. Meetings of an important character are being held all over the country. This evening Sir Henry Thompson will preside at a meeting called to consider the question of the moderate drinking of alcoholic liquors. The Bishop of Gloucester and Bristol, Dr. B. W. Richardson, and others, will take part in the proceedings. On Sunday a sermon was preached in Church-street Chapel, Edgware-road, by the Rev. Dawson Burns. This was the thirty-seventh annual temperance sermon which has been preached in this chapel. The sermons for thirty-five consecutive years were preached by the late Rev. Dr. Jabez Burns, and for the last two years by the Rev. Dawson Burns, his son. The service was largely attended, and the sermon was listened to with the greatest attention.

THE CHINESE OPIUM TRADE.—The *Friend of China* says:—"Next to the Eastern Question, Chinese affairs have a good prospect of securing the attention of Parliament. The remarkable novelty of a permanent Chinese Embassy being established in London, the return of Sir Thomas Wade, with his new Convention in his hand, and the publication of Mr. Grosvenor's report, will combine to concentrate public interest upon our relations to China. We are happy to announce that our executive committee has not failed to perceive the promise of the situation. At its January meeting a unanimous resolution was passed, inviting Mr. Mark Stewart to give notice, on the first night of the session, of his intention to call the attention of the House to the Supplementary Convention recently concluded with China, and to move a resolution thereon. Mr. Stewart has promptly and cordially accepted the invitation." Mr. S. D. Waddy, Q.C., M.P., has joined the General Council of the Society for the Suppression of the Opium Trade, making the number of members of Parliament who are either vice-presidents or members of the Council, fifteen.

TESTIMONIAL TO MR. SOHNADHORST.—At a meeting held in December, the Executive Committee of the Birmingham Liberal Association resolved, in consideration of the remarkable services rendered by Mr. F. Schnadhorst, secretary to the association, to set on foot a testimonial to that gentleman, in recognition of the labour which he has, with such devotion and success, given to the promotion of the Liberal cause. The measure alike of these labours and their result may be most significantly summed up in a sentence. The Liberals have, despite the minority clause, kept the whole Parliamentary representation of the borough; and in four years they have won twenty-one contested elections for the Town Council: twice secured the majority on the school board; and carried the election of the whole Board of Guardians for Birmingham parish. The energy, foresight, organising skill, and unceasing labour of Mr. Schnadhorst have very greatly contributed to these most satisfactory results; and in addition to this work Mr. Schnadhorst has given much assistance to the Liberal cause elsewhere, particularly in the elections at Leominster and Frome, and in assisting to organise numerous Liberal associations, on the representative basis long since adopted in Birmingham. These exceptional services deserve recognition corresponding to their value, and to the spirit of devotion to Liberalism which has prompted and sustained them; and we hope to have the pleasure of recording the presentation to Mr. Schnadhorst of a testimonial worthy alike of the givers and of receiver. Indeed, this promises to be the case, for although the subscription lists have only recently been issued, donations to the amount of over 800*l.* have already been notified; and a considerable addition is expected from the ward lists, and from other sources. Subscribers' names may be sent to Mr. A. C. Osler, honorary secretary of the Liberal Association, 86, New-street.—*Birmingham Daily Post*.

## Gleanings.

The *Tanner's Journal* states that kid, as a material for ladies' bonnets, is amongst the latest Paris novelties.

"I live by my pen," said a poet, wishing to impress a young lady. "You look as if you lived in it," was the reply.

"Insults," says a modern philosopher, "are like counterfeit money. We cannot hinder their being offered; but we are not compelled to take them."

A harassed husband thinks if the dressmaker would trim his wife's dresses less, and the butcher would trim his meat more, he could meet his obligations better.

On Wednesday morning, about 200 of the poorest inhabitants of Lower Gornal, Sedgley, attended early service at the parish church, 100 loaves being given by Sir Horace St. Paul to those rendered poor through bad trade. The vicar preached to them on

the text, "Ye seek me, not because of the miracles, but because of the loaves."

On Sunday afternoon, while a Free-Church minister not far from Dundee was delivering his sermon, he suddenly stopped and said:—"As I see many of you are asleep, we will sing a psalm." He then gave out a psalm, which thoroughly roused the sleepers, and after the singing of it, proceeded with his discourse to a more attentive congregation.

A traveller, among narrations of wonders of foreign parts, declared he knew of a cane a mile long. The company looked incredulous, and it was quite evident they were not prepared to swallow it, even if it had been a sugar-cane. "Pray, what sort of a cane was it?" asked a gentleman, sneeringly. "It was a hurricane," replied the traveller.

A POSER.—Dr. Doran, in his work about Sir Horace Mann, relates that one of the King of Prussia's soldiers of that time stole out of a Catholic church the jewels that adorned a Madonna. He owned possession, but denied the theft, saying that the Madonna had given them to him. There were no witnesses to disprove him. The King, therefore, sent for some Romish priests, and asked them if there was anything impossible for a Madonna. They were shocked at the question, and affirmed her omnipotence. "In that case," replied the King, "I cannot condemn the soldier, but I will do something else. I will forbid him ever to receive any more presents from a Madonna."

A LOVE SONG BY THOMAS CARLYLE.—The admirers of Mr. Thomas Carlyle's prose may be surprised when called upon to consider their favourite in the light of a poet; but they will take no exception to this quaint, melancholy, tender little "Adieu" of his just printed in a Scotch collection:—

Let time and chance combine, combine,  
Let time and chance combine;  
The fairest love from Heaven above,  
That love of yours was mine,  
My dear,  
That love of yours was mine.  
The past is fled and gone, and gone,  
The past is fled and gone,  
If nought but pain to me remain  
I'll fare in memory on,  
My dear.

The comma must be noted after "on," or else it will read as if he wished to eat her.

THE IMMENSITY OF SPACE AND THE MAGNITUDE OF THE SOLAR SYSTEM.—Professor Grant, of Glasgow University, lecturing on "Stars" at the Edinburgh Philosophical Institution, remarked that a railway train travelling night and day at the rate of fifty miles an hour would reach the moon in six months, the sun in 200 years, and the *Alpha Centauri* in forty-two millions of years. A ball from a gun travelling at the rate of 900 miles an hour would reach *Alpha Centauri* in 2,700,000 years; while light, travelling as it did at the rate of 185,000 miles in a second, would not reach it in less than three years. Light from some of the telescopic stars would take 5,760 years to reach the earth and from some of these clusters the distance was so great that light would take half-a-million of years to pass to the earth, so that we saw objects not as they really are, but as they were half-a-million of years ago. These stars might have become extinct thousands of years ago, and yet their light might present itself to us. As to the magnitude of the stars, he noticed that it was computed that *Alpha Lyra* was 100 billions of miles distant from the earth, and its magnitude and splendour were as twenty to one when compared with our sun. Similar investigations brought out the fact that our sun was neither vastly greater nor vastly less than the great majority of the stars.

AN ARTIFICIAL NOSE.—A case of unusual interest is, according to the *San Francisco News Letter*, about to come before the law courts of that city. An action for damages has been brought against the proprietor of the Hammam Baths, under very distressing circumstances. The plaintiff, who is an officer, had the misfortune at the battle of Gettysburg to receive a sabre-cut across the face, which deprived him of a considerable portion of his nose. The loss at first appeared to be irreparable; but the wounded hero was taken in hand by an eminent and skilful Parisian artist, who so successfully restored the nose to lifelike proportions that little or no trace could be discovered by a casual observer of the glorious scar. In the composition of the artificial organ rubber and gum were used, and the nose-maker either forgot or did not think it necessary to warn the nose buyer against a temperature of 185deg. Fahrenheit. The plaintiff, therefore, without giving the matter a thought, took a Turkish bath in San Francisco; and on looking in a mirror, after a long bask in the hottest room, was horrified to find that his nose was so blistered, bulged, puckered, and shapeless as to be worse than no nose at all. It was impossible to detach the artificial section, and the plaintiff will be compelled to go to Paris to have the nose repaired. But all this will cost money, which he can ill afford, and he accordingly sues the proprietor of the bath for the compensation to which, rightly or wrongly, he conceives himself entitled.—*Pall Mall Gazette*.

CARDINAL ECRU, OR CREAM.—JUDSON'S DYES.—White goods may be dyed in five minutes. Ribbons, silks, feathers, scarfs, lace, braid, veils, handkerchiefs, clouts, berouses, Shetland shawls, or any small article of dress, can easily be dyed without soiling the hands. Violet, magenta, crimson, mauve, purple, pink, ponceau, claret, &c., Sixpence per bottle. Sold by Chemists and Stationers.

THOUSANDS are unable to take Cocoa because the varieties commonly sold are mixed with starch, under the plea of rendering them soluble; while really making them thick, heavy, and indigestible. This may be easily detected, for if cocoa thickens in the cup it proves the addition of starch. Cadbury's Cocoa Essence is genuine; it is therefore three times the strength of these cocoas, and a refreshing beverage like tea or coffee.

## Births, Marriages, and Deaths.

## MARRIAGES.

LYON—LAWRY.—Dec. 7, 1876, at Auckland, New Zealand, by the father of the bride, William Henry, son of the Rev. W. P. Lyon, B.A., of London, to Mary Australia, eldest daughter of the Rev. H. H. Lawry, of Auckland, New Zealand.

ANDREWS—GRAY.—Jan. 30, at the Congregational Chapel, Warash, by the Rev. J. H. Cook, Frank, only son of Robert Andrews, of Salisbury, to Liliin, youngest daughter of George Gray, of Fish House, Titchfield, Hants.

BROWN—WHITTAKER.—Feb. 1, at the Congregational Church, Eltham, Morris William, second son of T. W. Brown, Isleham, Cambs., to Emily Ann, only daughter of T. M. Whittaker, Blackheath.

LAMBERT—WEBB.—On February 1, at the Congregational Church, Bournemouth, by Rev. H. C. Leonard, B.A., George Lambert, of Camden-rail, London, to Letitia, eldest daughter of the late C. J. Webb, of Oxford-street, London.

## DEATHS.

MELVIN.—Jan. 24, at 89, South Portland-street, Glasgow in his 65th year, Mr. William Melvin.

HORSEY.—Jan. 26, at her residence, Bristol, Hannah Horsey, for twenty-two years Matron of the Baptist College, Stokes Croft, Bristol, aged 85 years.

UNWIN.—Feb. 4, at Ivydene, Feltham Hill, Middlesex, the Rev. William Jordan Unwin, M.A., LL.D., late Principal of Homerton College, in the 66th year of his age.

THROAT IRRITATION.—The throat and windpipe are especially liable to inflammation, causing soreness and dryness, tickling and irritation, inducing cough and affecting the voice. For these symptoms use glycerine in the form of jubes. Glycerine, in these agreeable confections, being in proximity to the glands at the moment they are excited by the act of sucking, becomes actively healing. Sold only in 6d. and 1s. boxes (by post for 14 stamps), labelled, "JAMES EPPS and Co., Homoeopathic Chemists, 48, Threadneedle-street, and 170, Piccadilly, London."

"GIVEN AWAY."—A POCKET ALMANAC for 1877, sent free per post, on sending address to Messrs. Horniman, Tea Importers, London, or had *Gratis* of their Agents, chemists and confectioners. The Almanac shows views of Messrs. Horniman's "tea plantation in China" and "shipping of Horniman's tea to England." 3,538 Agents sell this celebrated Pocket Tea, which has been in great demand for forty years.

PERFECTION.—Mrs. S. A. ALLEN's World's Hair Restorer never fails to restore grey hair to its youthful colour, imparting to it new life, growth, and lustrous beauty. Its action is speedy and thorough, quickly banishing greyness. Its value is above all others. A single trial proves it. It is not a dye. It ever proves itself the natural strengthener of the hair. Sold by all Chemists and Perfumers.

Mrs. S. A. ALLEN has for over 40 years manufactured these two preparations. They are the standard article for the hair. They should never be used together, nor Oil nor Pomade with either.

Mrs. S. A. ALLEN's Zyl-Balsamum, a simple tonic and hair-dressing of extraordinary merit for the young. Premature loss of the hair, so common, is prevented. Prompt relief in thousands of cases has been afforded where hair has been coming out in handfuls. It cleanses the hair and scalp, and removes dandruff. Sold by all Chemists and Perfumers.

HOLLOWAY'S PILLS are admirably adapted for the cure of diseases incidental to females. At different periods of life women are subject to complaints which require a peculiar medicine, and it is now an indisputable fact that there is none so suitable for such complaints as Holloway's Pills. They are invaluable to females of all ages, young or old, married or single. They purify the blood, regulate the secretions, correct all suspended functions, give tone to the stomach, and clear the complexion. The first approach of disordered action should be met with appropriate doses of these Pills; whilst taking them no restriction on food be placed over the patient. They contain nothing which can possibly prove injurious to the system. They act by purifying the blood and regulating every organ.

OLDRIDGE'S BALM OF COLUMBIA.—By the increasing demand for this famed Balm may be estimated its value and efficacy for replenishing, invigorating, and preserving the Hair either from falling off or turning grey. Without it no toilet is complete. It imparts to the hair a bright and glossy appearance, frees it entirely from scurf, and will not soil the most delicate fabric worn as head-dress "at home" or in promenade. In the "nursery" its use is invaluable, as it forms in infancy the basis of a healthy and luxuriant head of hair. Sold by all perfumers and chemists, at 3s. 6d., 6s., and 11s. only. Wholesale and retail by the proprietors, C. and A. Oldridge, 22, Wellington-street, seven doors from the Strand, London, W.C.

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